DRAMATISATIONS OF HISTORY

By PATRICK GEDDES

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DRAMATISATIONS OF HISTORY

I

THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING AND ITS MANY MEANINGS

A PAGEANT OF EDUCATION FROM PRIMITIVE TO CELTIC TIMES: DEVISED AND INTERPRETED BY PATRICK GEDDES

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PREFACE

THE Masque of Learning, in its initial form was prepared to celebrate the semi-jubilee of University Hall, Edinburgh, in March 1912. It was performed for a few evenings by about 650 active participants, as players, orchestra and choir, in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, and repeated for 2500 school-children of Edinburgh. Thousands failed to obtain admission; hence further performances; in course of which—encouraged by the interest of all ages and classes of the community—its organisers, performers and designer, instead of dispersing, formed themselves into an association, unlimited in constitution and in ambitions, as "The Edinburgh Masquers, Outlook Tower." Their original Masque of Learning was revised, extended by the addition of a score of new scenes, and presented (I) as the Masque of Ancient Learning; and (II) the Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning. The latter was next season produced in the Hall of the University of London, by a kindred group of some 500 "London Masquers, Crosby Hall."

. . . ——— . . .

Each Masque is so far complete within itself, so as to be performed and understood apart; yet the two make up a more comprehensive presentment than has before been attempted upon any stage, of main phases and salient events in the long and changeful history of civilisation. In short, these

Masques outline stages and embody suggestions towards the World-Pageant of Education, of Learning, of Culture, of Human Advance.

Of the vivid life and movement, costume and colour, of our scenes—which should have gone through the cinemas of the world—these booklets give no idea; nor yet of the research, the care, the labour, and patience of their organisers, the enthusiasm and effort of their performers—who were growing together, from amateurs all, into a veritable dramatic college—in each City. Here remains merely my interpretative accompaniment, put together from conversational exposition at rehearsals of the scenes.

Though both groups were looking forward to fresh activities, the war put full stop to our Masquing, and decimated, desolated, scattered us, mostly beyond recall. Yet at a recent Summer School, and thence in London, a kindred group of "Civic Players" has arisen anew: and the like in Edinburgh also.

Thanks to the growing popular interest in history, as shown in so many City Pageants before the War, then by the War itself, and also stimulated by many writers (as notably by Mr. Marvin, and most widely by Mr. Wells' "Outline of History") such endeavours—and why not on yet larger scale?—are reasonably to be hoped for, and widely. Hence this reissue of these Masque Books, of fairly wide circulation in their time, but since out of print; and without alterations, or additions, to which there might be no end, could one begin.

That no two students of history would choose

exactly the same scenes is of course obvious: the field of choice is well nigh limitless. Enough if this re-issue be suggestive to the reader towards devising anew, and by turns spectacularly and reflectively, and both together, as here; and to gather her or his friends as players, again to bring in more, and do what best they can.

As to details, pressure of time for writing prevented the use of works of reference; but to the players some were indicated, notably the "New Calendar of Great Men," edited by Frederic Harrison (Macmillan). The general treatment is that of the writer's sociological teaching during many years past; and his indebtedness to the founder of sociology as well as to earlier and later writers will be plain.

. . . ——— . . .

That dramatising efforts are increasing, has long been manifest in progressive schools, and in awakening Universities, and in vacation gatherings as well as in private groups. Here indeed I have widening experience, since in planning the extension of various colleges, and even of six new Universities, of which five in the near and further East, I find my open-air theatres welcomed, and sometimes indoor ones as well. For, not without reflection, as well as some experience, —I venture this thesis—that there is no subject of study into which dramatisation, historical and other, cannot brighteningly be introduced; as obviously into all the humanities, and even into each and all of the sciences. Nothing is too abstract, from

philosophy to mathematics and logic; nothing too prosaic or arid, even to economics in its controversies, bibliography in its labours. All such may be thought out and wrought out. If so, here is the strengthening of specialised education through art and with pleasure,the alliance of strenuousness with leisure; and all for audiences and players alike.

. . . ——— . . .

Nor is the field of dramatisation limited to past or present; and thus to expressing such vision as we may have reached. How better arouse, evoke, such vision yet farther? For history is no mere retrospect of the past, nor excavation in it: what it reveals to us, above all, is the past still working on within our apparent present. Thence, even—so far as true to the spirit of science, which "observes to foresee, and foresees to provide" History cannot but strive to discern how the manifold and tangled elements of Heritage and Burden from the Past—as they impel or resist our strivings in the Present—may disclose for us resultant lines of tendency towards the making of the Future; and thus suggestions to abate its marring; or at least towards guidance against shipwreck amid its inevitable storms.

And if such enquiries be rational and practical, even already here and there resultful, they are assured of continuance and of development as sociology advances from speculative interpretations into science: so what better laboratory for the clarifying of its ideas, for crystalising its ideals, than our sociological and civic stage? Here in our

Masques are already some ideas fairly clear; some ideals even, that we can work towards. For into the obscured, yet ever-opening future of our Cities has not our final scene some gleams?

We do not clearly think, much less clearly idealise, until we visualise, and energise: that is, until we dramatise. The War-world has long best known this, as its training in "Kriegspiel" before war has shown. So why not also be thinking out our aims and purposes as clearly, and learning also, as here for trial, to play the games of Peace? And even as something towards War's "moral substitute"?

And as devisal and rehearsal have prepared our scenes, so may not more such scenes be devised, rehearsed, performed? And these not only towards the Miracle Plays of the great Past: but also towards Mystery Plays; and these not simply as foreshadowings of the Future, but even rehearsals towards the Stage of Life.

. . . ——— . . .

The Ages of Faith, each with its dream of Love, its gleam of Hope, have sadly faded: even gone for ever, many say, above all in these hard times, seeming at most of mechanic industry for gain. Still more then vanished the yet older days, of Magic, of Romance?

Not so. Wherever Man's insight gains power over Nature, there is Magic. Wherever he carries out an ideal into Life, there is Romance.

Who will challenge this Faith? —its Hope —its Love as well? Who but must see its Truth? Who but can discern its issues? —here in Comedy, there

in Tragedy ; and in Life often mingled, even interweaving.

Hence these endeavours towards the Dramatisations of History.

PATRICK GEDDES.

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April, 1923.

GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

THE endeavour of the Masques of Learning is to present a historic Pageant of characteristic scenes illustrative of the progress of culture, and of the history of education—each in the widest sense.

I.—THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

After a brief and explanatory scene as Prologue, the Masque starts from the earliest ages of evolving man—for what is the essential of education, in all times and lands, but the communication of experience from age to youth?

Its main presentment begins with essential aspects of the great Oriental civilisations, and proceeds, through Greek and Roman periods, to Celtic times It is concluded with an appropriate Epilogue scene.

II. –THE MASQUE OF MODERN LEARNING

begins with the Fall of Rome, and proceeds, through characteristic scenes from the Middle Ages and Medieval periods, to the Renaissance and the Encyclopedic age. It concludes with a scene expressive of the Present and the Opening Future.

In each of these great periods of thought and action, one or more of its memorable moments, its characteristic movements, will be represented. Each group of scenes, with its typical and historic figures, is thus in principle itself a pageant, commemorating main achievements of an epoch of civilisation.

In each of these main phases of culture its simple origins, its high culmination and achievment are expressed—its ideals at their best, its decadence with loss of these. All this varied history has made up the Complex Heritage and Burden of the intellectual world -from School-Bag to Library.

FULLER OUTLINE OF THE MASQUES

I. The Masque of Ancient Learning

AFTER an explanatory Prologue, the Masque starts with Prehistoric Man: the mastering of fire, the progress from hunting to agriculture, the rise of the family, the dawn of science, the struggle with fear.

Next are presented the beginnings of City-life, taken from the Babylonian culture; its confusion with the Tower of Babel; its eclipse by Assyrian militarism.

From ancient Egypt are illustrated anew the rise of civilisation from nature and labour—the peasant's yearly needs evoking land-surveying, and this geometry, until the Egyptian Temple-University results. A Funeral Procession illustrates the elaboration of Egyptian religion and ritual, and symbolises that overpowering of life by death which is the tragedy of later periods also.

The story of Israel,so familiar in Scottish education, is given prominence. Moses and the emancipation of Israel are presented, the Wisdom (and also folly) of Solomon, and other scenes are introduced; notably that Finding of the Law, to which critics now give such significance; and that contrast of Priest and Prophet which is characteristic of the history of Israel, and recurs in all times and lands.

The enduring civilisation of China is commemorated; and, more fully, the ancient cultures of India -

Hindu, Buddhist, and Parsi. These Oriental scenes are again carried out, and for China and India almost entirely, by students belonging by race and tradition to their respective groups.

Coming to Western origins, the fullest presentment of the Masque is that of Hellas. First, upon the normal background of nature and labour comes the undying song of Homer, the choric dance of youth, the evocation of Heroes and Gods, of Goddesses and Muses. Next, the procession of historic Greece, with its founders of modern science and medicine, of philosophy and politics,of architecture, sculpture and drama; and, above all, of City and citizenship.

Again for Rome, a broadly comprehensive outline of her world-central achievements and influence. These, as always, have their origins in labour and its virtues; and thence to their rustic and urban developments—in colonisation and constructiveness, in world-communications, in justice and in peace from Clyde to Euphrates: an inspiring citizenship and humanism in one.

It is time next to realise that our own regional heritage, that of the Celtic world, which once stretched from Galatia to Gaul, and on either side beyond, was no mere Barbarian darkness, but had also its life and light; and that its survivals, from Brittany and Wales to Ireland and Scottish Highlands, preserve to this day the embers of their ancient and sacred fires. Fairylands and mythic paradises, memories of beauty and heroism, types of chivalry and saintship, live on unforgotten; nay, once and again these have revived in ardent souls,

and gone forth to civilise their conquerors, to guide them anew to meditation and learning, to spirituality and poetry, to lead them in art and song. A Celtic Epilogue therefore ends the Ancient Masque.

II. The Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning

THIS second Masque opens with the Barbarian celebration of victories over Rome and Britain alike, which seemed to all at the time the final overthrow both of Romans and of Christian civilisation.

It next recalls that even more stupendous uprush and expansion of the Mohammedan world, whose changing tides have been, even to this day, so significant a factor of European history.

Yet in subsequent scenes these formidable forces are shown as far from wholly destructive, but as mingling in those new and fruitful combination of Oriental and Mediterranean, Celtic and Teutonic elements which have given their variety and inexhaustible romance to the Middle Ages.

Hence our many contrasts of the cloister and the world, of hermit, monk and friar, of burgher and knight, wizard and scholar. The medieval fair, the rise of Universities and Colleges, &c., are presented; and the Middle Ages end with a new scene, the Apotheosis of Medieval Learning.

The splendid Renascence is next shown forth, at first in its small but significant beginnings—in the prison of Roger Bacon, in the laboratory of the alchemist, and with the first printing-press. Then the stately and cultivated Courts—that of Lorenzo the Magnificent, that of Isabella sending out Columbus. Henry VIII receives More with Erasmus

and Holbein. James VI founds the University of Edinburgh; and later, as James I, receives Bacon, Shakespeare and the Translators—surely the supreme conjunction in English literature.

Napier at his logarithms in Merchiston Castle, young Milton visiting Galileo at Florence, are among the scenes which express the development of science, or its interaction with letters and arts. Later scenes express the decadence of education, to its too recent (or surviving) levels.

The Encyclopedic age is next illustrated, from the most brilliant moments of Sweden, of France and of Scotland, of England, and of Germany, culminating in the Apotheosis of Beethoven.

The final act sums up in spectacular procession and grouping the Present of University and City; and once more recalls typical figures from the undying Past. Finally, it attempts to shadow forth possible elements and factors of the opening Future; and this as no mere blank or hazard, but as the accumulation and momentum of Past and Present; and thus hence-forward ours to steer.

I

The Masque of Ancient Learning

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" We learn but little here below ;
And learn that little, wrong ! "

The Masque of Medieval and Modern Learning

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Bury me close to the Roman Road,
That the pageant passing by,
May trumpet through my dim abode,
And make it less do die.

To my House of Stone let the rumour run
Of the ringing reins of old,—
Of horsemen riding in the sun,
Through worlds of windy gold.

I will not lie in a green abode
Away from the hurrying feet.
I have ridden for long on the Roman Road,
And still is the riding sweet.

RACHEL ANNAND TAYLOR,
Rose and Vine.

THE MASQUES OF LEARNING

PROLOGUE TO THE SERIES: THE SCHOOL BAG

Scene.—The street, outside the Portal of the University. BOY enters, swinging his school-bag: he pauses and looks in dubiously, thinking of the matriculation examination for which he is preparing.

A friendly PROFESSOR accosts him, and asks what he is doing at school. The BOY shows his crowded bag.

The PROFESSOR takes out the books one by one and musingly explains them—to himself, as well as to the boy:—

THIS overgrown arithmetic book is the very spirit of the commercial and financial age: this old examination paper bears the stamp of its bureaucracy: and this cram-book to prepare for it is the encyclopædia in miniature.

All this reading in living languages, English, French, and German, has come on from the golden moment of the Renaissance; and the grammars and lexicon are from its silver age. Here is an essay, dated yesterday; yet with unmistakable traces of the medieval thesis and disputation.

Virgil and Homer; the heritage of Rome, of Greece. The Bible; it renews the voices of the patriarchal world.

What's this? New story-book? Not really new, nor yet trivial or contraband: It is continuing the tradition began 'once upon a time': for the tale-teller comes from the remote unwritten past of folk-lore.

A fresh apple; a new ball! These are the oldest of all. For this is the raw food, and that the ready missile of Primeval Man.

BOY—If all this be in my school-bag, what must there be in the University, and its big Library?

PROFESSOR—The same, only more fully. A book is not merely a fossil or a treasure from some phase of the past. Its right reading—not the words from without, but the thought from within—is a spell by which you may recall this past, re-enter it when you will. This test of this power of reading is the old matriculation examination, and the coming one too. It must be made by the aspirant, and not merely of him. Will you try it?

BOY—Yes. How?

PROFESSOR—The spell is simple: the reason why so many fail is by using only one or the other half of it. You must throw your ball, and with all your might; and eat the apple of knowledge also: only by help of both can you or any youth get so far as that earliest development of conscious man. To take either alone is a fall, an evil: it is a real enchantment, an arrest—for some by the brute's strength, for others at the parrot's memory.

But with this elementary education, with apple and ball, of mind and body together, one's higher education goes on with the world's. Term by term the spell continues to work; the pageant goes on

opening, phase by phase; each lives again, by the magic of its rightly read book.

[Lapsing readily into his habitual lecturing style, he proceeds (not noticing that Boy is meanwhile falling asleep):—]

This pageant of learning opens as new for each fresh student, not because he is ignorant, but because it is immortal. When to any one it seems old, and fixed, it is a sign that they are growing fixed and therefore old themselves. Old explanations may be well worth handing on, but fresh interpretations are ever needed, and must be sought for also.

Here then, we may make one book more, mingled like our University lectures. There are things simple, fundamental, accepted, which every student, if not every school boy, should know—but also such personal suggestions and interpretations as may stir the student to think in his turn, whether he agree or no.

To-morrow this book will recall the scenes your spell will now call up. It links the books of the bag you are going to put away to those of the library you are to open. Look at it once more, when the time comes to leave the University; for there is in it a second clue, leading out from the Library into the World, and linking University and City together.

Enough talk now of books: (Boy suddenly wakes up). It is time for you to try the spell.

(Boy throws the ball, proceeds to devour the apple, and thus matriculates as Student: the Pageant opens accordingly.)

Students aud passers-by collect as spectators. The professor takes the opportunity of improving the occasion, and announces each scene as it descends from the University Library. He goes on explaining, commenting, and musing, and sometimes interjects a thesis for a passing colleague. A woman student swiftly takes notes; a printer speedily sets them up; and the results are as follow.

'Let us now praise famous men.'

THE MASQUE OF ANCIENT LEARNING

IN SOME OF ITS MANY MEANINGS

PRIMITIVE FOLK

Nature and the Beginnings of Civilisation.
Life tree in background.
Water Nymph followed by spirits of Nature and by Pan. The dance of Nature Life; Child humanity.

Mother follows seeking child.
Hunter with game and hound. Young woman stanches hunter's wound with herbs; then gives him apple.
Older women, with rude sheaf and distaff. The women croon a song: man twangs his bow. Primitive occupations of sexes; Labour and Rhythm.

The Mastery of Fire: Woman makes the hearth: the family circle forms.
The Mission of Prometheus.
The Dawn of Science.

The Struggle with Fear.
Prometheus Bound, and Unbound.

NATURE and her forms of plant and animal life constitute the earliest environment for human activity and experience; they are the enduring base and background of these and are therefore constantly associated with their progress. Hence

each new uprise of civilisation, each great cultural advance, up to that of science in our own day, has been associated with a 'Return to Nature.'

These fundamental nature-conditions are therefore symbolised by the Life-Tree and the surrounding faunlike creatures, in which folk-lore as well as classic tradition abound, and which modern evolutionary speculation revives. Our presentment of this childhood of the world of course makes no attempt at scientific form: yet its psychology may be more obvious than its biology. For, from this approach evolution is coming to be seen again as of old, as a Dance of Life, and no longer merely in terms of struggle for bare existence, to which an epoch obsessed by economic mythologies has so long been restricting it.

Distinct, however, from these shadowy shapes, stand out the Primitive Folk of archæologist and anthropologist. Our first tableau necessarily expresses that division of labour of the sexes with which civilisation begins:—Man as hunter, with game and hound: Woman as fruit-gatherer, a primitive Eve; and as herbalist, initiating surgery and medicine.

To them enters a maturer figure, with a rough sheaf, expressing that agricultural initiative, which was idealised by the Greeks in Demeter, by the Romans in Ceres, which has been commemorated until our own day in 'the Corn-Maiden' of the harvest-field, and is still by anthropologists ascribed to Woman. The age of Culture-Heroines is in fact fully beginning.

The invention of the woman's quern and distaff, of the man's bow and arrow, involve new labours. Each of these, as it grows more skilled and more familiar, finds its essential rhythm and utterance; and these are the beginnings of dance and song. Even musical accompaniment appears, in the twanging of the Bow, which has been the fruitful germ of all stringed instruments. In the same way the horn or shell, the drum, the pipe, in which lies the germ of the organ, even the vibrating splinter which is an incipient dulcimer and therefore piano, may readily be imagined; in fact, the evolution of all kinds of music has begun.

These incipient Muses not only discipline labour to endurance; they advance its skill; they cheer and strengthen companionship; they lighten toil into joy.

Here also philologists find a main factor in the beginnings of articulate speech, each labour rhythm and its 'chanty' evolving one of these characteristic root-verbs which are fundamental to the developments of language.

Next has to be expressed the further great uplift which civilisation owes to the mastery of fire. A youth suddenly arises from his flint-chipping: the primitive Prometheus—later so nobly idealised by Hellenic folk-lore, and by later drama. At first burned by the new energy he has evoked, he at length learns to control it. He places a glowing ember within the hollow stem (still called Pramatha in Cyprus); and then goes forth to his fellow-tribesmen with his gift; alike so much more perilous to

his fellows and himself than he foresees, however promising for the future. Fore-runner of Hellas, he must first be its martyr. The women make and tend the hearth; the older as housewife, the younger as her fire-maiden, the future vestal. Her task awakes intelligence; her intuitive powers increase; her inventive genius brightens; she is more and more the coming Pallas.

With the elder woman develops the family circle, with its kindness and warmth, its concentration also. Her motherliness as 'Urmutter,' her dignity as Matriarch, alike appear. Her man recognises, appreciates, this development of woman; and to express it, he takes the gold bracelet from his arm, and twists it anew into a coronet, which he places on her brow. Thus honouring and idealising woman, he is now lover, artist, poet: and thus are kindled lights upon the upward way, surpassing, yet accompanying, the Promethean fire.

Such a simple scene may also suffice to express the coming mastery of metals, as literally dawning with "the golden age." The next may suggest the dawn of art, with the draughtsman of the wild beast. Another expresses the dawn of abstract science, and the invention of writing together. The hunter holds up his hand with spread fingers against the distance, watched by the group around the fire. He is counting something—enemies, head of game, or what not. He marks off their number, finger by finger, to his companions, one of whom tallies with pebbles, and another keeps pace by scratching on a stick with his flint knife. Arithmetic, and even the essentials of its Roman Notation

have come to stay. In such rude beginning not only Oghams and other rude inscriptions have begun, but the Libraries and School-Bags of later civilisations.

The psychologist increasingly tells us (and here may not every one be also his own psychologist)! how, with the struggle, the survival or extinction of life, and this at all its levels and phases, there is profundly connected the primal emotion of Fear. The folk-lorist and the anthropologist take up the tale; and, ever since classic times, they have passed this on to the student of comparative religion, who in his turn traces fear through its innumerable manifestations and outcomes, now base, now high. An elemental illustration is therefore necessary, and this not only for our immediate scene but for the Masque and its meanings.

In the group around the fire, amid their real and rapid progress so essentially civilised, a woman spies an ominous shadow, lurking, stealthily flitting around. She communicates her nascent fears; others laugh it away; but the threatening shape approaches, and bursts forth into the firelight. Before its wild, unwonted raiment, its sinister, colossal mask, its menacing gestures and dance, now swift, now slow, but ever pressing nearer, the group wavers. It bursts upon them, with appalling noise and outcry, with uplifted death-symbol, of skull with flaring eyes. The hapless folk break up and flee, the horror pursuing.

Infant Humanity is abandoned, asleep. He awakes and trembles at his solitude; he quails and turns before the shape, now returning to attack him;

then takes courage, faces it, advances upon it, and thus drives it back in turn. He drags off the cloak ; it drops its mask ; and it is now seen all the while to have been Pan.

Humanity sets out on his way to seek his scattered kindred : Nature is now no longer terror and bogey, but his friendly, even subservient companion. He comes on Prometheus, whose high mission has fared hardly. He is bound to a rock, and with his fire laid to smoulder upon his own body : type of coming discoverers and inventors. Humanity unties his bonds and delivers him. Indomitable, he uplifts his torch anew ; and Prometheus, Youth, and Pan now go on together. An obvious symbolism, also, and a brighter one. Through later history, at present, and it may be for long in the future also, it is by such broken steps that winds on the long, eventful, ever-arrested, ever-renewing Ascent of Man.

BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS

Peasant Life and its Dangers: their needed wall of defence, within which develops the city.

The Star Tower. Measurement of Space and Time. The Seasons.

Khummarabi and his Code.

The Tower of Babel.

Assyrian Conquest: its consequences, in Art and History: its effect upon the conquered.

THE peaceful, indeed initially feminine, art of agriculture has well-nigh constantly suffered from the aggressions of the hunting people, so much more naturally warlike. Our scene therefore opens with peasants harvesting; they are set upon by hunters, and flee; one is slain. The victors carry off the bulk of the crop.

Hence the need of building a defensive wall; and the ditch, the future moat, is the necessary accompaniment of this. This involves regular labour of a very different and more continuous kind than the peasant's, a further regulation also, of workers, of process and product alike. The architect's plan and measurement thus arise, and the builder's organisation of labourers also. Both functions are regulated by the astronomer-priest; so that the economic rest-day and its idealisation proceed together. Beyond measurement of time by day and week and lunar month, his most important service to the community, his authority correspondingly also, lie in his observation and forecast of the seasons, of sowing time especially.

In such ways, and in far more detail than space admits even of outlining, astronomy, architecture and agriculture progress together, and with them town-life also. As population grows, more and more intensive culture becomes requisite; irrigation provides for this, and hence the astronomer becomes a civil engineer. As population increases, and the great city develops, new tasks and problems arise on every hand; and each step in progress carries others with it; each difficulty is an opportunity also.

Hence the early appearance of the great law-giver is natural enough; that is, the conditions, both in public needs and for his personal developments, are now increasingly plain. In our typical scene Khummarabi, the Moses or Manu of the Babylonians, enters in meditation. Rightly recognising the fundamental importance of the astronomic culture, he shares its idealisation also: so for every reason he ascends the star-tower for initiation by the astronomer-priest. He descends to judgment-seat; a culprit is brought in, for choice a hunter corresponding to the robber of the previous scene. He hears accuser and witness; the culprit confesses, prostrates himself, and craves for mercy. Khummarabi consults his Code inscribed upon bricks, pronounces sentence: and the doomed man is led away. The law-giver then proceeds with the dictation of his Code to scribe, who literally in-scribes it upon a cylinder.

In our next scene a crowd of Babylonians is in clamorous discussion: the leading orator points contemptuously to the old star-tower, for the time vacant, if not abandoned, and suggests by gestures,

the building of a far greater. This is decided by acclamation; and they proceed to build the Tower of Babel, which rises storey by storey up to the proscenium level and beyond—but by and by falls with crash and consternation. 'Tohu-Bohu' and kindred cries fill the air, and the once so orderly and diligent citizens are now a chattering and quarrelling mob; with all the faults of over-individualism also. Mob-psychology has here in fact its earliest presentment: indeed it may be doubted if the criticism of democracy and individualism has ever gone much further than in this old-world example of it. For the topplings of lofty syntheses, or the mutual unintelligibility of modern specialisms and so on, this old satiric tale is ever adaptable.

As the mob-clamour subsides, there appears above the central entrance steps, the genius of Assyria, eagle-headed, four-winged, a towering and formidable shape, whose grim presence silences all in fear. And with reason; the Assyrian bowmen and spearmen of the monuments march in; they slay or bind the babblers.

In the next scene we are in Nineveh; the winged war-genius there before us. Sennacherib is enthroned: his herald proclaims victories, over Babylon, Samaria, and Jerusalem. The king instructs his scribe to record his victories, and his sculptor to commemorate them; and the public libraries, monuments, art-galleries of the world are thus begun. (In many later cities, a first impression shows how largely they may continue upon these levels—witness Versailles, or Berlin above all.)

Enter now captives: a long chain of Babylonians and Israelites. Their kings kneel: Sennacherib takes an arrow from his armour-bearer, and puts out their eyes with his own hand. The captives are led out to slavery: the Babylonians with despairing cries and gestures, or in silence. But an Israelite raises his voice in psalm, which soon is swelled into chorus, and only sinks with distance:—'Yea though I walk in death's dark vale, yet shall I fear no ill.' Of the spiritual uses of adversity to the nobler natures of a defeated people, and for the high accentuation of its nationality also, the example of the Babylonian Captivity is the supreme example, yet among many.

EGYPTIANS

Isis and Thoth.—In the background, during the scene, Isis, goddess of Nature, and mother-type of humanity. Also Thoth, god of letters, and dispenser of intellectual gifts to men, holding scales of Judgment and key of Life.

Rope-Stretching.—Peasants quarrel over their boundary. Priest calls in rope-stretchers; the measurements are taken down by Scribe; peace is restored.
Funeral Procession.

OUR brief selections from the great past of historic Egypt, which a century of excavation and decipherment has so largely been recovering, start, as will be our wont, from the humble fundamentals of nature and labour. After the yearly inundation of the Nile, the peasants, to avoid quarrels over effaced boundaries, must have such difficulties settled by

measurement anew. Thus 'rope-stretching' becomes a hieroglyph for land-surveying, and even for the geometry which arose from it; though this was left to the Greeks to carry further—largely left indeed till later times; for in the reading of the ups and downs of the Nilometer there lay latent the master-thought of Cartesian geometry. The scribe (the 'Cadmus' of classic tradition) appears; other professions, and their education-faculties, as naturally arose. Thus what has commonly been called an Egyptian 'Temple' became also a College, indeed a University; at least so long as arising with the arts and sciences. These, however, were increasingly dominated by a too annalist history, a too fixed theology; and thus were too early arrested altogether.

The regularity of the seasons, the exuberance of life and growth, the annual inundation and the need of steady preparation for it, with the assured hope of returning life with spring; all this and more provided the conditions amid which arose so much of the philosophic thought, and even of the religious hopes and faiths of the later world. The activities of life led to their idealisations; and these in many forms, long for us obscure, since on one side too concrete, on the other too abstract. Yet the sphinx, the winged orb and others have remained to us; and the 'key of life,' long lost, is now by modern biology being recovered.

We cannot yet trace the gradual fixation by which doctrines once full of life and hope became overliteralised, and as it were mummified along with the body they were attached to; but there is

evidence of the interaction of the State and its institutions with religion and philosophy towards producing this fixity, much as with education, or with faith and doctrine, in more recent times.

Enough here to recall the Procession of the Mummy, with its magnificence of ritual, its wealth of symbolism; and the corresponding exaggeration of the tomb to pyramid or mine. Yet here was but the extreme example of that overpowering of life by death, which is the tragedy of each great period of culture, and which is still around us to-day, too much even within us.

ISRAEL

Moses.—Moses remains after Egyptian funeral has gone: gazes at Life-tree.
Hebrew slaves bearing bricks: their task-master strikes them with his whip.
Moses strikes task-master, casts off his Egyptian robe, and leads forth the Israelites.
He leaves them for a time; returns with Tables of the Law; finds them bowing before Golden Calf.
Return of the spies bearing grape-bunch.

The coming of Wisdom; The Queen of Sheba.
The Folly of Kings: Vanity of Vanities.

Josiah; The finding of the Law.

Priest and Prophet.

MOSES who has been a spectator of the funeral procession, returns and pauses befor the life-tree. Slaves enter, bearing bricks; and are beaten by a taskmaster. With passionate impulse Moses strikes

the task-master, casts off his Egyptian robe, and leads them forth to freedom. He leaves them for a brief season and returns with the Tables of the Law, but finds them bowing to the golden calf, which he breaks down.

Spies enter bearing the grape-bunch, a vital antithesis to the mummy: like the moving tabernacle to the fixed temple, the passing pillar of fire and cloud to the obelisk, and so on through many contrasts of the Mosaic symbolism. A chant of Life breaks forth. Moses points the way to the Israelites, who follow it in triumph towards the promised land; but, like many a later leader, it is not given to him to enter in.

Moses, not only learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, but renewing and transforming this, from its static fixity amid learned seclusion and hieratic rule, to become henceforward the dynamic of an emancipated people's life, is thus an enduring type of educative genius at its highest, and an exemplar for culture-institutions at their best. For him the vast heritage of the past, empiric, practical and traditional, speculative and spiritual, with the rod of authority such mastery ever gives, budded with new promise, performed at crises miracles of achievement, and thereafter pointed the way with daily guidance. Yet not for the Egyptians.

From humble and simple origins, guided by such vital initiatives and their symbolic expressions, the Hebrew culture developed its period of settled greatness, of established culture, in the brief but brilliant glories of the age of Solomon; whose

history and traditional works so especially demand presentment in our Masque of Learning, and this far fuller than we can spare. How deeply the education of Scotland has been influenced by the book of Proverbs is now too often forgotten; but so also it is apt to be overlooked that where this book and its teaching fall out of sight, that of Ecclesiastes, in its bitterest cynicism and dispair, inevitably replaces it.

The Wisdom of Solomon is ever personified—a veritable Hebraic Pallas. Fitly, then, she enters with her maidens, ranging from mature woman to child, and each with her lighted lamp. For here, as in each living culture period, ancient or modern, masculine experience and wisdom is never complete without feminine intuition, and its inspiration to thought, to art and life.

In the next scene, Solomon's visitor is the Queen of Sheba; here presented as the questioning and stimulating mind of woman, rather than as of inspiration.

Solomon's Judgment is not here represented, fitting though it would have been in itself, and symbolic too of his life, in so far as one strikingly yet typically balanced between the appeals of woman, good and evil, and the self-deceptive, Faustus-like search of the lower wisdom, to which no thinker, nor perhaps even saint, but at times has felt prone. We pass direct to his lower choice; and personify his autobiographic account of it—of wine, of great works, of vineyards, gardens and orchards, pools of water, of servants and maidens, riches, silver and gold; of men-singers

and women singers, of dance, laughter and mirth. The poorest man have all this in reverie, but the rich man has the greater danger of realising it; above all rulers given the great kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them. How hard such temptation is to escape is illustrated with the fitness of the literature of Israel, by making its supreme temple-builder in history thus conspicuously fall. The successive temptations, at first invoked in pride, as in the main a speculative exercise, become next inevitably experimentally participated in; the procession thus passes into a ballet, and this into wild and wilder forms, till Solomon is seized by its excitement, and taken hold of on either hand by madness and folly. The rout of temptations has achieved its purpose, and rushes out, leaving Solomon—now in dispair of life: his cry of 'Vanity' still pierces the ages. Yet behind him Wisdom is seen returning.

Yet from the cheapest cynic to Solomon in his embittered repentance too much has been made of literature of this kind. Neurasthenia after debauch has coloured the whole of it; too much even the pessimism of the noble and spiritual Tolstoi. Still more that of lower orders of philosophers, down to pretended ones.

The Finding of the Law, to which modern critics give such a new and increased significance beyond that of our and our fathers' upbringing, is next shown. Here we follow closely the account given in the Book of Chronicles and Kings; and the significance here suggested is conveniently and simply the traditional one—that of an inspiring

and great renascence—recurrent, yet alas, all too unfrequent throughout history.

Yet to those who may still dread the modern criticism, with its loss of definiteness for the Mosaic tradition, a compensation may be recalled ; one also of increasing interest to students at the more general view-points of this Masque. For the rise of Judaism on this modern view is brought into line with other supreme developments among the great historic religions—which so preponderatingly appear about the same time—say the sixth century B.C. Judaism in this perfected form becomes broadly coeval in the West with the sages of Greece, even it may be the traditional Druids, more certainly with the noble idealism of Zoroaster, with the practical wisdom of Confucius, and, above all, with the high spirituality of Buddha.

The final scene—the confronting of Priest by Prophet—not only sums up the characteristic alternation of the historic drama of Israel, but is also typical of that perpetually reappearing disharmony of authority and insight, of tradition and vision, of law and evangel, of letter and spirit, which is the central conflict of well-nigh all phases of history ; indeed the ever-recurrent tragedy of the ascent of man.

Survival and initiative, heredity and variation ; to reconcile these is the perpetual difficulty at once of the intellectual, the organic and the social life. Towards throwing light upon this great problem, such broad reviews of history as the present may not be without their uses. To realise this struggle, and in

as many forms as possible, is it any rate a first step towards harmonising it into orderly progress.

CHINESE

Peasant in garments yellow with dust of soil.
The two Peasant-Emperors, Yao and Shun.
Meeting of Confucius and Lao-tze.
Mencius.

OF this vast and longest-enduring civilisation we can here but indicate its agricultural basis, and its deeply associated sagacity, honesty and order, its gentleness and wisdom. First of all the Chinese peasant, his garments yellowed by his toil amid the dusty, light-coloured soil which also colours the Yellow River. How Chinese agriculture maintains and develops the patriarchal family, and thus its continuity and solidarity, its patriarchal leadership and wisdom, has once and again been traced by our few Western interpreters of China. Here it must suffice to present culminating historic types, as in Yao and Shun, the great peasant-emperors. Each of these was selected for his efficiency and virtue by his predecessor, in preference to his own son. In so wise a society, the appearance of pre-eminent sages is natural enough. Hence the meeting of Confucius and Lao-tze, and the following up and systematisation of their teaching by Mencius.

Had a further scene been practicable it would have been that of the Spring Festival of the Chinese Empire at its truly greatest—no military Empire,

but an agricultural patriarchate and matriarchate—in which the Emperor, in the peasant's yellow, now appropriately the imperial colour; drives the first furrow of the spring; while the Empress, again typical peasant-woman, walks beside the furrow, and plants the first row of Soya beans.

To the Western mind, whose associations with imperial greatness are too much bounded between the Roman Triumph and the modern Review, this simple ceremonial might lack impressiveness: yet if thoughtfully considered as the sacrament of agriculture of a whole people, it aids towards an explanation of the permanence of China. Does it not even help to the understanding of its present revolution, and the comparative order with which this is being accomplished?

HINDUS

The four Ancient Castes:
Sudra, Vaishya, Kshatriya, and Brahmin.
(Peasant, Merchant, Ruler and Brahmin).
Manu, the Law-giver, establishes them.

Vasishta, a Guru, with disciples, including Princes Rama and Lakshman. Archery and learning.

Founder of Mathematical Science, Bhaskaracharya, with his daughter Lilavati.
Founders of Schools of Philosophy.
Authors of the Epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata.
The Poet Kalidasa, chanting from his 'Kumarsambhabam.'

PROBABLY no other Western University is so rich as Edinburgh in the membership of students as

widely representative of all the many races and religions of India. With a generous good-will which the designer of the Masque most warmly acknowledges, the Indian students, beside their active co-operation, have contributed a wealth of suggestion which might well lead, on some future occasion, to the presentment of a Masque of Indian Learning, complete within itself.

Within the present compass only a limited selection has been possible. Following the method already established, of proceeding from simple beginnings towards their outcome in culture, the first scene is naturally of the four initial Castes—followed by Manu, that veritable Moses of the ancient Aryans, a *raja-rishi* (King and ascetic), whose codes of Law are still preserved.

These four great castes, not only India, but every other civilisation has more or less developed :—Sudras, Vaishyas, Brahmins and Kshatriyas—labourers and merchants, priests and warriors. Poor and rich, labour and capital ; these two first castes are the ones mainly developed in Western lands by our industrial age ; yet we also have been increasingly developing the culture-caste of the university ; while our public schools have especially endeavoured to provide a courage-caste, with its ambitions turned from gain or learning towards an ideal of rule.

From these four initial castes of India later castes have differentiated, and doubtless with only too great intricacy and separation. Has not the same happened once and again in the West—even in Edinburgh, for instance, to this day ?

The high, indeed unparalleled, specialisation of the meditative and the intellectual life of India, and its respect for education, are expressed by the group of the Sanyassin or peripatetic teacher, with his disciples—prince and peasant here meeting in equality of studentship. As true ascetic he is the more vigorous, and this not in mind only ; he leads his students in archery as well as in thought.

Hindu science is commemorated by one of the founders of Mathematics, and the participation of women in higher studies by his illustrious daughter.

The great schools of Hindu philosophy are represented by their founders, each with his appropriate symbol. The procession closes with the great poet Kalidasa, whose masterpiece 'Sakuntala' will increasingly be acted in this country as our knowledge of India grows ; indeed others, such as that which our epic scenes recall.

BUDDHISTS

Prince Siddartha's Renunciation of Home and Kingdom. His return as Buddha.

Asoka, the great Buddhist King of India, sending his son, Mahendra, and his daughter, Sangamitra, to Ceylon to preach Buddhism.

WHILE the Hindu world devoloped caste to its utmost, concrete symbolism to its fullest, and abstract speculation also to its highest extremes, the philosophy and religion of Buddha must be recognised as in many ways its contrast and complement. Its equal absorption of all castes into an

aristo-democracy of culture, its high moral organisation of life upon a directly human basis, without recourse to supernatural sanctions, and all the other features of this vast historic system, have been so clearly and sympathetically expressed by Sir Edwin Arnold in his *Light of Asia*, and later in prose for Burma in Fielding Hall's *Soul of a People* as to leave no need for exposition here. Our two characteristic scenes -the Renunciation of Prince Siddartha, and his return as Buddha—are naturally main themes of Arnold.

> Ah! Brothers, Sisters! Seek
> Nought from the helpless gods by gift and hymn,
> Nor bribe with blood, nor feed with fruits and cakes;
> Within yourselves deliverance must be sought;
> Each man his prison makes.

PARSIS AND PERSIANS

Zoroastrian High Priest—followed by Parsi in indoor dress (sacred white muslin shirt always worn), bearing Sacred Fire; and by Parsi gentleman in outdoor dress. Priest chants verse from Avesta in Sermon of Zoroaster.

Preceptor, with three disciples, all in ancient costumes, and with mirror, bow and arrow, and model horse; representing the ancient Persian Education, which consisted in 'speaking truth, drawing the bow, and in riding the horse.'

Firdausi, the 'Homer of Asia,' in 12th century costume. Author of 'Shah-nameh,' the epic of ancient Persia.

THE small but historic and important community of Parsis commemorates its origins from ancient

Persia, which it only quitted after the Moslem conquest. Its main settlements were in and around Bombay, where its social coherence and religious continuity, and the moral standard it has maintained in its dealings with the surrounding community, have been rewarded by a high degree of general esteem and moral influence, as well as by economic prosperity. In political respects they may be likened to the Huguenot colony in Berlin, loyal to its own traditions, yet none the less so to the city and land of its adoption: and in other ways a parallel is afforded by our own 'Society of Friends.'

The ancient Aryan idealism and symbolism of Fire express the early advance from the elemental Promethean fire to its higher uses and interpretations. For the Hindu this has been expressed in the myths of Agni. For ourselves it has also been nobly set forth, in its domestic and civic influences, spiritual and social together, by Fustel de Coulanges, in *La Cité Antique*. It is this great heritage of ancient religion and civilisation which is now best conserved by the Parsis; and in no mere quaint or pathetic survival sooner or later to flicker out altogether, as its increasingly westernised inheritors may not unnaturally sometimes fear, or even assent to, shrinking as they naturally do from the absurd and unintelligent nickname of 'Fire-worshippers.' The still mysterious cosmic fires, which after long neglect, we have re-discovered as petroleum springs, and are working, though still too ignorantly, are already lighting the student's lamp over the Eastern world, and driving the engines of world-

communications as well as industries. Moreover, in these actual days, when those labouring among the energy-stores of our western industrial communities, and charged with their control hitherto, are clashing together, and as yet with wasted heat rather than light it is a peculiarly fitting example of the many symbolisms (and corresponding meanings) of our Masque that there should again be recalled to us in this antique and simple way the lesson our western classical student has practically forgotten, and his industrial brothers, either the elder or the younger, have not yet learned—that even for the maintenance of our material life and its economy, our material fire must be controlled with corresponding glow and luminosity of ideals. Condensing this proposition, it takes the sharp directness to which the enigmatic aspect of so many ancient oracles was due, and not of the mere hedging which was their resort only when their inward light and fire had failed. So we may say 'Towards the settlement of coal troubles call in the Zoroastrian priest.' If this remains obscure, our Parsi students, in touch as they may be with the new 'Research Institute' for India, which is appropriately a Parsi foundation, may yet work out, and express anew in modern fashion, that ancient and ever needed unity of ethics and economics which we have as yet too much reduced to futile and sordid, by our thinking of them apart.

The traditional essentials of Persian education, 'to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth,' need no amplification.

For the illustrious line of Persian poets stands here only Firdausi, whose romantic epic renewed the glories and the spirit of ancient Persia, and carried these on into its Mohammedan age of independence. The Renaissance of Persia, the one Aryan nation which can almost compare with China itself in the antiquity of its culture and of its independence, is thus at once an old story, and one never to be despaired of.

GREEKS

Early Greece:—

Background of Nature; Types of Nature Occupations.
Homer: his song evokes from the shades Paris and Helen, Achilles, Odysseus.

Athletes, and Sappho with her maidens: Choric Dance.

Mythopoetic Greece:—

Muses, Gods, Goddesses and Sibyl.

Historic Greece:—

Nature Background: Esop, with animals.
The Oath of Hippocrates.

Pericles and his work. Philosophers, Dramatists, and Orators.

WITH so vast a subject, within so narrow limits, what essentials and episodes shall we present? Again the background of Nature; upon this the renewal of Labour, and its reward in Life. Life not merely maintained, but developed, towards the heroic level; and thence conceived in higher ideal, so that the very gods arise amid their living images.

Labour also truly applied. The handling of the oar which was to the Phœnician, as in Roman and later times, the harshest of slaveries, was by the Athenian reserved as a right of citizenship—a sharing of sea-mystery with Poseidon, of adventure with the companions of Odysseus, of death and glory with the victors of Salamis. From the care of the olive-tree came not only the crops of fruit, the dividends of oil, but peace and wisdom. And from the harder toils and steadier returns of the cornfield came the rewards of Triptolemos, the odes and festivals of harvest, the sorrow of Demeter, the initiation of Eleusis. From the vine not only the raisin and the wine-trade, but the enhancement of the Dionysian ecstasy of life, its mystic deepenings also; and from the oak-tree not only the timbers of temple-roof or trireme, but Zeus-like maturity and strength. With each enviroment, each true mastery of it, was associated for the Greek a corresponding invigoration of the body and development of the mind. He expressed, and here again expresses for us, that labour is towards fulness of life, and not life merely for labour. Hence these early and simple ancestors are shown upon our stage as foreshadowings of the divine shapes which were perfected by later mythopoesy and sculpture.

As we recover this Hellenic simplicity and unity —that of labour and its ideals—the 'education problems' and 'labour problems' we have as yet kept too separate begin to reunite. A better future opens to the view and this in no small measure as a Hellenic renascence.

For what was the Greek secret? That the elemental chord, of all true activity, is that of nature, labour, and life—of place, work, and folk. If this be kept tuneful through its innumerable variations there evolve the harmonies of labour and ideals. Thus arose, especially in the Greek mind, its vital conception and its method of education: the specialised perfecting of the body in youth, in the dance, and thereafter in the manly exercises from which the gymnasium later developed; and with all this the attuning of the spirit also, continued in maturity and in age, with Apollo's and with Homer's lyre. Hence our group of athletic youths flushed by exercise, and with them the old Homer, blinded by the brightness of his inner vision. As he harps, he chants a verse of his still supreme song—ballad and epic in one, the epitome of love and war, and their perpetual intertwining of the individual and the social life and tragedy through history. His supreme creations are thus evoked anew; Helen, Achilles, Odysseus appear for a moment; they pass, and repass behind the veil.

With such poetic inspiration thrilling through the whole Greek world, Sappho and her maidens appear, fit types of beauty and its song. Her songs have all but passed away. Instead of one of these, a rendering can happily be given of that Delphian Hymn to Apollo, which is the main fragment as yet recovered from this noble infancy of music.

Now appears, in its ritual sobriety and stateliness, the elaborate Choric Dance, revived from Greek vases, and performed by students of the Art College.

As Greek life thus developed towards perfection, yet more ideal perfection arose beyond. Hence after their common mother, Mnemosyne (Memory) the Muses appear, each with her activity or its symbol: Urania for astronomy and architecture, Terpsichore for dance, Erato for the lyric of love, and Euterpe for that of patriotism. Calliope is epic, and Polymnia wisdom; Thalia comedy, Melpomene tragedy; and Clio history, recording all. Yet these are no mere traditional grouping, or occult symbolism of the number Nine, still less the arbitrary expressions of poetic fancy, which they have seemed so long. They are here presented as recovered in terms of science, as again becoming manifest through the study of life and mind in evolution. From this point of view they reappear for us to-day, one and all. For they are demonstrably the (nine) possible modes and alternatives of that action of the psychic like upon its environment, which is life indeed, the 'good life' of Greek aspiration—transcending mere vegetative continuance, with which our modern toil is too much content. Fallen yesterday to a hackneyed tag of imitative verse, to-day practically forgotten, or at most affording a mere passing allusion in prose or illustration for speech, the Nine Muses will be again to-morrow fully recovered—not this time by scholarship, but by the evolutionary sciences, psychological and social. They are vital and helpful conceptions; again applicable in modern life, to all its problems; towards reorganising labour and education, towards vivifying universities and cities anew, as of old in Greece.

The scholar and the archæologist have long had their Museums, but as treasure-houses of the relics of what still too much seems, to them, a dead and vanished past. Yet now the modern town-planner, for whom Greek citizenship is no longer a mere learned reminiscence or a unique and unattainable moral marvel, but a working conception once more, is in these days actually designing, for the bettering cities of the opening future, their veritable 'Museion,' sometimes even with all its nine Muse-gardens, and their fitting palaced.

The Greek philosophy of art and education, which saw all true action as the modes and moods of 'Mousike,' is thus more and more returning; and here from the side of the applied sciences, whose present mechanical discords have by the Muses to be re-tuned.

The three notes of the chord of Life are organism, function, and environment—*i.e.,* in simpler human phrase, folk, work, and place. These have their correlates in feeling, experience and sense. To these again correspond ideal, idea and image, as the normal elements of a deeper and more inward harmony. From these again arise their respective expression aud outcome—in individuality, in activity and in beauty: and each at its highest—divine in Olympus, musal in Parnassus, human in the Hellenic city. Here, in fact, have we not the broadest summary, the quintessential psychology of the evolutionary process, and therefore above all, in Greek culture; indeed, in principle, of all other cultures as well?

With the Muses for action-types and for educators, the possibilities of human life become more clearly seen, the means of their development more nearly discerned also. And these for each of its phases, from infancy to age. In the Greek mind, science, art, and idealism were not yet dissociated into the sterilising specialisms of the encyclopedia, but in living interaction as the good life. Thus they expressed themselves in that high unison of inward truth, beauty and good presented in art, which we call 'myth'; and which, losing its Greek and vital sense, we then misunderstand, at length even to disbelieving! But for the Greek there arose naturally what is for us again dawning as the ideal of eugenics, of education also; vitally expressed in a vision of divinities, beings that are at once normal and ideal, human yet superhuman; and far beyond those earlier and simpler idealisations of occupation and place, which were foreshadowed on the opening scene; like Apollo the divine shepherd, the musician, the healer; like Athena of the olive, or Demeter of the corn. Goddesses and gods thus expressed each the ideal, or supernorm, of a phase of life. This vivid and creative intuition since Greek days has too much seemed but a mythologic dream, but is even now reappearing in evolutionary thought. We repeat that in each goddess, each god, there reappears the essential and characteristic, the logical and necessary expression of the corresponding life-phase, of Woman, and of Man.

Hence their entry upon our scene, in life's processional order, the youngest first.

First then, in the procession of the gods, comes the man-child, the simple Eros; next Hermes, the boy-messenger, swift of body, ready and eager of mind. Then Dionysos, the youth awakening to life and manhood, thrilling to woman, wine, and song. Next Apollo, fully developed in body and mind, master of himself; now serene in repose, again aroused to action, raising this into art.

Next Ares, armed and active in the struggle for existence, fierce, not always victorious. Then, further on in life, Hephestos, who has reached his special mastery and its creative skill, but has also been grimed and worn by his efforts, limited by his task, even to lameness. Finally Zeus, that culminating type of patriarchal perfection, in whom youth has persisted, experience matured, wisdom and will developed; and whose completest life is therefore reverenced by all as on the whole life's culminant, to be accepted and obeyed accordingly.

Next the goddesses: and in the same order. Hebe, the winning and willing child; Artemis the girl, still unawakened to sex, running free in nature; Aphrodite, conscious of her compelling charm; Pallas with her bright intuition, her ready spear of woman's wit; Hera in her full perfection of womanhood; Demeter ageing, saddened and grey, patient, helpful and wise.

After the goddesses as essentially idealising the phases of woman's life, came naturally a deeper and more psychologic presentment of her development, in the Sibyls. The young Sibyl is of social

intuition, the old has tradition also; she combines long memory and insight, she is something of goddess, of muse yet woman, all in one. Such possibilities of development explain prehistoric and historic ascendencies of matriarch and empress; and, in their perversion, the passions, powers, and deeds of the evil witch; and also the wild terror and hatred she has once and again excited. But of evil types we need not here speak further. It is for later ages, and in our own, that the gods become perverted into devils. That from childhood we learn less of Apollo than of Apollyon, or from youth onwards see Venus Cloacina more in honour than Aphrodite, is not the fault of the Greeks.

The preceding has been the outline of one great aspect of Greek evolution; from nature, through labour and art, to life and its ideals. In a second group of scenes we naturally come to realisations of all this, in thought and deed, in constructive and creative art, and above all in the City, which was the supreme achievement and creation of Hellas—and which is becoming again of such value and example to our own age of returning citizenship.

Nowhere therefore, is the choice of scene more difficult, the variety of possible presentments more numerous, or with greater varieties of scale.

Nature and its simple wisdoms are once more recalled: by Esop, appropriately surrounded by some of the animals whose life and doings, moods and humours, he wrought into his parables of the

ways of man. Himself probably an interpreter of older Indian fabulists, his spirit never dies. It reappeared in the middle ages in Reineke Fuchs and Eulenspiegel, in later times in La Fontaine. Indeed he is common to all lands; from the African Uncle Remus he has his analogues in well nigh every regional folk-lore. Only during a period of classification and anatomy has the zoologist ever lost this; but with Darwin's *Expression of the Emotions* this recovered comparative psychology henceforth enters upon a new phase of opening science and of coming art; just as the Life-Tree, kindling in the sun, to leaf, flower and fruit—breathing, moving, sensitive, warm—is again the recovered theme of botany, by which the Dryad myth is thus recovered.

The Oath of Hippocrates, to this day the honour of the medical profession, can find nowhere a more fitting commemoration than here, in the great Medical School which reckons among its historic names so many of his most illustrious successors.

Following on this life and knowledge of nature, this rise of psychology, this growth and advance of medicine and hygiene, there comes naturally, in this commemoration of the classic past, as again in modern life the development of Citizenship—and this in no mere abstract moralising of philosophers on one side, no mere material struggles of despotic and democratic excesses, to which both Greeks and we have been too prone—but of Citizen and City Development together.

For the City as dominant factor of Greek life, the *Polis*, the two representative groups are Sparta and Athens. For Sparta, Leonidas in mail, sent forth to Thermopylæ by his wife and sons, so typifying the Spartan education. For Athens the swearing-in of the ephebe into his tribe-company, and his receiving spear and shield: Pericles looking on.

For City Development Pericles with the architect and the sculptor of the Parthenon are for all time the representative and typical group. These culture-heroes of the supreme art of city-design have often been too mechanically imitated in many cities, as oft in Edinburgh; and with a consequent rebound into sordid utilitarianism, paralysed culture or cynic discouragement: but they are again coming into their true example and influence, as in the designing of the University of California yesterday, or it may be in those of India to-morrow. With them comes also Aspasia—Woman as inspirer of living thought and worthy deed, of artistic and civic achievement

It is well here to note that the old and long-enduring aspersions upon the character of Aspasia, of Sappho, and other culture-heroines of antiquity, have been shown to be of far later date than their lives, and of dubious, reactionary, even bitterly prejudiced origins.

Next the representative and supreme philosophers:—Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. Each has a friend and pupil; for philosophy, like music, lives in its discourse, and dies down into silence and nothingness with mere retrospect and criticism.

Why then after these supreme types of the University has there come so much mere imitative philosophising, as from the supreme City an imitation architecture? Because we have too much as yet taken of each the letter, and these separately: it is time for the spirit of both together—for City and University as one. The willing death of Socrates, the republic of Plato, the synoptic city-vision of Aristotle, have thus a civic unison. This has once and again been expressed by the living historian, if too seldom by the historic commentator; but in the measure in which in this University or any other we may hope to recover, say rather recreate, the spirit of Athens, we must again bring our philosophy and our citizenship together. The failure of Athens itself was in no small measure through falling short of this; and this opening age of experimental studies in higher education must link the School of Philosophy with that of Civics as are those of Physiology and Medicine to-day. From such a synthetic philosophy there has ever burst forth action—action sometimes only too comprehensive and ambitious, like that of Aristotle's pupil, Alexander, called the Great. For in his career the imperial greatness of Macedon achieved that overthrow of the Greek cities from which civilisation has never yet recovered, and which was far from compensated by that eastward expansion of Greek culture on which historians have commonly laid so much greater stress. Happily philosophy found also concrete complement in that widening appreciation and creation of life as drama, in which Athens again was initiative and supreme. Aeschylus,

Euripides, Sophocles, have thus earned their laurels; laurels undimmed by time, and ever being renewed; witness the increase of Greek plays at schools and colleges, of vernacular renderings like those of Butcher and Lang and Gilbert Murray, if not yet—of recent presentments on the larger stage.

We should here have groups expressing Greek education.

Thus for primary education—in Greek days starting rightly, not with 'alpha-beta,' but with 'music,' and this in its large Greek sense—the citharist with his pupils. And following him, for 'gymnastic,' a group of athletes bringing home the Olympic victor with his laurels.

For secondary education, a group of the great sophists—Gorgias, Protagoras, &c., pointing up to education at its highest, in the three supreme philosophers.

Yet even here we cannot truthfully omit the decay of culture, notably in the Cynics. Diogenes, whether with tub or lantern, needs no introduction to a modern audience, composed so largely of students and other individualists, with their faith in life too often paralysed, their pride of personal thought exaggerated, and both through the lapse of citizenship. To most minds it is much that our modern athletic renewal should again have brought with it the tub, and this in a simpler, healthier, more truly Hellenic sense than that of Diogenes. But the disaster is that it as yet so much stops there; save indeed for those who think the highest

career is in getting upon it; with our Union orators, with elder or more recent ones. Citizenship, Athenian or incipient, has a fuller education than of the body; and it seeks utterance and expression beyond voice and vote.

After all this serious discussion of civics, philosophy and drama, there is a time to unbend; a time too, to realise the limitation of all our efforts. The playful spirit is thus mingled with the bitterness of Omar and of Koheleth. Thus appears Aristophanes, with his superlative fooling, mirthful, stinging, destructive by turns. Yet as always without constructive suggestion other than the mere impossible return to the past, itself far from sincere —the influence and example of Aristophanes have in the main been powers for evil; and this not only in his own day, but onwards to ours. Parent and model of later pseudo-critics and parodists, his progeny have showered their envenomed arrows upon each new philosopher or poet—Keats but for one—yet most of all poisoned their own souls.

Last the orator Demosthenes, last champion of Greek freedom; yet for Greece, as too often everywhere, the harbinger of decline. Into the decay of Greece, however, we need not further enter here: our essential effort has been to show forth something of its glory.

ROMANS

Early Rome

Peasants. The call of Cincinnatus. The Sibylline Books.

Imperial Rome

Cæsar. Virgil with Augustus: Horace with Maecenas. Marcus Aurelius. Pedagogue with youths. Architect (Vitruvius) with Engineer. Justitia: Ulpian and Papinian. Justinian.

End of Graeco-Roman Culture

St Jerome. Martyrdom of Hypatia.

THE origins of Roman civilisation were not merely commemorated in that she-wolf and her nurslings, whose stern and fateful shadow now takes the place of those of Greek decline. They are being increasingly reinterpreted from traditions surviving from the early folk-wanderings and from their earliest agricultural settlements: for instance, in the *Ver Sacrum*, in the Roman Calendar. Behind the dignity of the vestals and the magnificence of their cloister and temple we come down to the primitive round hut, with its firemaidens. In many such ways the evolutionary presentment of Roman culture is advancing; and this even for its high legal developments—witness interpretations like those of Von Jhering, one of the greatest of modern Roman lawyers, and of evolutionary sociologists also, because these for the first time in one.

Peasant folk enter; a father and son set up boundary stones for their field; while others are going to market with corn and beans and wine-skins. Two strike a bargain; and the parties have it taken down by the Pontifex, who alone knows the binding words, at once sacred and legal.

The traditional law-giver Numa, and his inspirer Egeria, survey the scene for a moment. To them appears Justitia ; whom they lead to a pedestal, from which she henceforward overlooks the scene.

Next enters a more patrician type, elder and ex-consul, yet occupied with the repair of his wooden plough.

Such a peasant folk, who called each other by homely names like Fabius and Cicero, Bean and Pea—as if Lothian ploughboys' nicknames of 'Neep' and Tatie' were to stick and even be made immortal—take little account of the Muses. So that when the Sibyl brings to the market the nine-fold heritage of Greece, she is rejected, and by plebeians and patricians alike. She retires, casts away three, returns with six, and is again refused. Only when she has reduced her books to three is her offer accepted.

In this legend the Romans have conserved the confession of their own limitations ; yet, were not the Muses they chose the greatest of all—those most civic, constructive, historic ?

A messenger enters bringing to the elder a summons and commission to defend the Republic : his son brings in his red mantle and sword. Cincinnatus thus leaves his plough ; and when he returns victorious, will go back to it again.

From such simple beginnings of defensive war and their successful consequences, there grew up, in later and imperial times the greatest of systems of agricultural colonisation and expansion.

Youths served a time in what it is a real misunderstanding to consider the mere specialised 'army' it produced; since it developed at length the civil service and more, including road-making and engineering on a scale answering to that of our railway age, postal communications anticipating our modern ones, police order unsurpassed, and public building, still far from as fully attained. Hence in our later presentment and commemoration of Roman constructive achievement the soldier is shown accompanying engineer and architect.

After his period of service the legionary obtained his grant of land, and settled down to farm it, thus educating and absorbing the native peoples and earlier settlers, with their traditions; much as Canada—most Roman of all modern Empires—is again doing to-day. His daughters married into the surrounding community; his sons took their turn of service, and were settled in due time farther north or south, east or west. Thus each succeeding generation, and this on the side of spindle as well as spear, looked back to Rome as the mother city, along a lengthening perspective of ancestors; and despite increasing distance, with strengthening because more sacred ties.

Such continuity of development there is in the long process in which Cæsar midway appears, as a supreme historic figure closing the days of the Republic, opening those of the Empire. Our schoolboy's ideas thus need to be placed upon a far wider basis than that which he may derive from his military records alone.

Next appears Augustus: here of twofold interest —as head and type of the Roman State ceasing to conquer, and seeking to organise; and also as the friend and protector of Virgil. Yet this is no mere scene of emperor and his court-laureate, as later times have represented them, and with would-be imitations without number. Theirs was based at least on the true association of man of action and thinker, statesman and idealist, seeking to reconcile present with past, the tradition of the free Republic with the vision of the Roman mission of world-wide peace.

From what do Virgil's poetic mastery and undying magic arise? Plainly from the ever-budding rootstock of nature and peasant activities; from the adventurous folk-wanderings of the past, seen as romantic from the calmer joys of the established rural order; and from this also, as realised in its beauty and longed for in its peace from amid the thronging activities of the world-metropolis.

Following these comes Horace with Maecenas, the Carnegie of his period, and more, suggesting new poems. Next Marcus Aurelius, here more as moralist than as emperor. Yet were this the Masque of Rome, instead of a mere germ, a first suggestion towards it, we should naturally commemorate the other 'good emperors,' Trajan and Hadrian above all.

As the due expression of Roman education, upon its highest sides of character and productive efficiency, and thus of living morality, should be remembered the Roman matron with her sons. The

literary and intellectual education—which in later Rome too much overpowered this, as again with us to-day—is expressed by the pedagogue, both for good and evil; as Greek teacher, but also as slave. The later lapse of the Roman lady into luxury and weakness, and the consequent perversion or abandonment of the mother's supreme educational guidance—to the servant first, and the pedagogue afterwards—were no small factors in the decline and fall of Rome, as in the deterioration of later aristocracies to this very day. The barrack and janissary system of education, which everywhere more or less arise under such conditions (witness our modern public schools, private schools, state schools, popular schools) are only to be explained or defended as a measure of expediency, during times of decadence of woman, and the depression of her higher influences, which work together in vicious circle.

The practical and constructive genius of the Roman,—expressed from early times by the Pontifex in his literal meaning as bridge-builder, and peace-maker accordingly—was increasingly developed with the Empire, and is naturally presented by the road-maker with his plan; by the engineer with his aqueduct; by the architect with his model; and above all by the agriculturist with his sheaf. For though with the barbarian incursions the Roman roads largely vanished, the aqueducts were broken, the civic buildings neglected or quarried in, the farming of Europe has largely remained until

modern times as a Roman tradition, albeit more or less lapsed.

What to the townsman has seemed mere peasant stupidity and ignorance thus deserves more respectful treatment, as Roman tradition, like some of the folklore which has accompanied it: and our rising agricultural colleges and pioneerings may improve their appeals, as they reach more sympathetic interpretation of peasant methods at their best. It is worth remembering that Wordsworth's favourite Latin author was Columella; whose agricultural encyclopedia may be compared, and not with disadvantage, with the architectural treatise of Vitruvius.

Our commemoration of Roman road-makers, bridge-builders, and water-engineers is peculiarly appropriate in Scotland, whose sons like Macadam and Telford, or for more recent types, Aird and Arrol, have had so large a share in renewing the Roman mastery of these great arts.

It is also fitting to commemorate Roman Law, on which Scottish practice and legal education has been so much based.

Our outline is again of the simplest. The lictors, it will be noticed, bear their rods, but not axes; since these were the symbol of military, not civil law, of the general's summary powers of court-martial in the field and not of the serener justice of the Basilica. They are followed by Ulpian and Papinian. It is interesting to note that these—perhaps the two greatest jurists of all time—were both of Syrian origin, and contemporary with the spread

of Christianity; and thus came from the social environment which had been most thrilled by the Jewish aspirations towards righteousness and towards a better future, and which was disciplined from within by Greek thought, as well as from without by Roman law and order.

Above them appears Justitia, the Roman personification of just law; for she, after Roma herself, was the one worthy divinity evolved by later Rome, and more important than any of the pallid and abstract parallels to the Olympians who survived mainly as ornaments to literature. Yet she remained necessarily too abstract also; and so became outshone by the apotheosis of emperors, until both became lost in that struggle of new faiths and exotic superstitions in which Roman religion perished, and Christianity emerged.

Upon Justitia then, is projected the Shadow of the Cross: for with this vision of a new ideal, the Basilica becomes consecrated as the Church, and the judgment seat gives place to the altar.

Our scanty suggestion of Roman history must therefore include that renewal of spiritual and temporal powers which was the achievement of the Eastern Empire, and which is visualised around the commanding figure of Justinian, with St. Sophia, once the metropolitan church of Christendom, and with the Code, each an enduring monument.

That commingling of Roman Civilisation with the Christian faith, of which the catholic order is the resultant, is here expressed in the figure of St. Jerome, with his stupendous achievement of the Vulgate. Of this the briefest account may be to

say that it has been for the larger world, and for fifteen centuries, much of what our own vernacular version has been to us for three. No adequate presentment of him has ever omitted the Lady Paula and her daughter, each a truest helper—inspirer and protectress, disciple and friend.

The last great work of Roman literature, yet one of peculiar influence, was Boethius' 'Consolations of Philosophy,' which was translated by King Alfred for his times, and has still value for ours. But since Roman culture was so essentially Greek in its origins, it is best to close our Graeco-Roman presentment as a whole, with an earlier scene, that martyrdom of Hypatia, which so dramatically characterises the over-powering of later Hellenism in its last great stronghold of Alexandria, by the iconoclastic spirit of Egyptian monasticism. Yet, though this tragedy seemed for a thousand years the ending of Greek culture, the Renaissance came at last: while a new renascence is in progress, and this in city after city. Each great port and emporium of the west is awakening to the Hellenic ideal of being a culture-city also: witness the young and growing Universities of New York, of Liverpool, Hamburg, San Francisco, Barcelona, or again Calcutta and Bombay, and of smaller cities also, of the same maritime and accessible type—Dundee or Trieste, Catania or Algiers. Alexandria has again the material resources; and for traditions more than most of these cities put together. Few lists of great names have surpassed those of Ptolemy's 'Museum' (thus named in a fuller

sense than any of ours), in numbers; and if not always in original productivity, in encyclopedic and enduring influence. It is not 'Utopian' dreaming, therefore, but plain and obvious foresight, that the town-planner's proposition—that of 'Eutopia for every City'—will there as elsewhere before many years take worthy form.

Then among the many courts and monuments of the renewed Museum of Alexandria the statue of Hypatia will find its worthy, even central place. First as an expression of noble memories, and these at once personal and comprehensively symbolic of the Greek past: and also as a veritbale Pharos, bearing the light of a re-opening intellectual future; and that inspired by kindred avatars of Pallas.

CELTIC

Ossianic Age—

Nature Background; Fairies. Angus Og (god of Youth). Druid and Druidess. The Sacred Symbols.

Druidic Age—

The Harping of Ossian: evocation of Cuchullin, of Deirdre, and the sons of Usnach, and the Riders of the Sidhe.
The meeting of St. Patrick and Ossian.
Ossianic Chant; and Hymn to the Sun.

Arthurian Age—

Merlin and Arthur. The Winning of Excalibur: the beginning of the Round Table.

Columban Age—

St. Columba and his Missioners.

IN no one of the great cultures here commemorated are the nature-origins more obvious, more significant, more enduring. Hence the nature-forms of

our 'Primitive' scene, who next took shape as fauns and satyrs for the Greek imagination, again reappear; and now in yet more human and more sympathetic forms—the Fairies. Even Pan returns; for, though elsewhere degraded to diabolical shapes, he has been preserved here in the north from the worst of these deteriorations by kindly folk-lore, and by the protection of the poets, Burns above all. In short Burns' 'Deil' is by turns Pan, Nature, and the poet—indeed (like himself) a mingling of their many moods.

From the varied Celtic Pantheon there also comes one of its happiest types—Angus Og, the God of Youth, in whom characters of Dionysos, of Apollo, of Balder the Beautiful all mingle and meet.

The nature-occupations which have preserved the ideality of the Celtic peoples, and been the compensation of their poverty, are expressed by the shepherd youths. The uprise of nature and labour into thought, and of the application of this to education and public life, by the Druid Philosopher-Priests, the Sibylline Druidess. They are accompanied by youths bearing these ancient and mysterious symbols, by many supposed of synthetic significance and initiation, which so many sculptures have preserved for us.

Ossian, the Celtic Homer, appears with Malvina, and the mythology and legend of Druid and Druidess thus give way to poetic art. As Homer's song evoked the heroines and heroes of the past, so again Ossian's. Hence Cuchullin, the Celtic Achilles, comes back from the shades, and Deirdre,

a nobler Helen, returns with the sons of Usnach. Next, as the poet changes his song from historic epic to hymn of creative idealism, there pass before us the Riders of the Sidhe, each offering one of the four gifts of life to men. First the leafing, flowering, fruiting branch of the Life-Tree—the simple life and labour of the People. The next bears the cup—for the Joy of Life in its prosperity. The next is gazing into his magic crystal, of Thought; in which, from reflections from without, again from memories within, Emotion, Reason and Intuition are ever creating new visions. Finally comes the bearer of the Sword—for Idealism in Action, Justice in Rule. It is here well worth noting, that despite all difference and remoteness, these four will be seen to correspond in principle to the four castes of our first Hindu scene. The correspondence may perhaps be related with those of comparative philology and of folklore: yet it is of even more general, indeed universal range. Thus, these four essential types are demonstrable in the psychology as well as the economics and politics of our modern towns. They are respectively expressed in the Town of industry, the School of learning, the Cloister of religion, thought or art, and in the Acropolis Temple or Cathedral, of fully realised culture and citizenship; which are the four essentials of every City worth the name. Hence also these ancient castes, these fairy donors, all reappear, albeit in different persons and garments and symbols, in our closing scene of modern Edinburgh.

In no literature has the strife of Christianity with Paganism been more dramatically presented than in that meeting of St Patrick with Ossian after his three centuries in Fairyland, of which our scene recalls the dramatic contrast which Mr Yeats has so vividly renewed for us in one of his greatest poems. This indeed dispenses us from further exposition or comment.

No section of the magnificent Pageant of Scottish History of 1908 was more admirably treated in detail or more effective in completeness than the Arthurian Procession contributed by a group of Glasgow artists: in fact this was probably the masterpiece of pageantry as yet produced on either side of the Tweed. Our present purpose and limits however admit but of a single Arthurian episode. To express its meaning here we may recall the series of decorations with which Mr John Duncan has enriched the common-room of Ramsay Lodge; than which no more sustained and magnificent scheme of design and colour, no more vital symbolism has been produced by modern art in Scotland, indeed few such anywhere.

The first of these panels presents the awakening of Cuchullin—Youth arising in his Strength and its opening Possibilities. Next, Fionn wrestling with the King of Norway—type of physical energy and struggle upon the Heroic level. Beyond this, we come to the decisive spiritual adventure of Youth, and to the right service of Age and Experience towards its guidance, in the picture of the old Merlin rowing the young Arthur to grasp Excalibur

from the mysterious hand which raises it from the lake.

For obvious reasons of stage-craft primarily, yet for inner reasons also, the different but kindred legend, of drawing the sword from the stone, has been preferred here. The call to youth, the openness of opportunity, the uniqueness of supreme achievement, are here again emphasised, indeed in no myth more strongly. But the story is of no mere individual success. The defeated rivals, so little considered in all the ordinary stories of the struggle for existence, of yesterday, or of to-day, are here reconciled with their victor; and by him in mutual generosity incorporated and ennobled into the fellowship of the Round Table; from which each in turn sets forth anew upon some worthy and appropriate quest.

Yet for the Arthurian, as for earlier and later Celtic heroes, the story ends with a sad refrain, 'of how the heroes went forth to battle; but they fell.'

Hence in our former single Masque there appeared a scene of Viking victory now transferred to the Masque of medieval and modern times, which it more fitly opens. This however was not to commemorate mere conquest by force or guile, but as the appreciation of a new type of poetic achievement. One of our calmest historians, Mr. Bryce, reckons ancient Iceland, in the golden moment of productivity of its Saga time, as only inferior to Athens and Florence.

These warring races evoked in each other some of their highest qualities; and each communicated to its adversary something of its own. The Sagas, Scandinavians tell us, show no little trace of Celtic impulse and influence; while the heroic adventurousness of Celtic chivalry gained intensity from its Berserk antagonists; and in its very ruin, impressed the conquering might of the Norsemen, and refined it towards more spiritual ends. Hence in fact the incorporation, in Ireland and Highlands alike, of conqueror by conquered.

After the shadowy Ossianic and Arthurian cycles comes the more historic Columban age; with its vast impulse through Britain and northern Europe. Its scene thus fitly begins with the setting-up of the great cross, and ends with the sending forth of missionaries to all the northern lands. Here in fact the long University history of Scotland truly begins (say rather, remembering Druids and Merlin, begins anew) with this Columban ordination service as its typical graduation ceremony.

Of the many services of these missioners to civilisation our pageant expresses three. First the Latin hymn sung by the Monks commemorates the introduction of rhyme from Gaelic into Latin, and thence into other European languages. It is not always remembered that this salient characteristic of modern poetry, as distinguished from classic, is the gift of the Celtic bard turned chorister.

Secondly, the rude coracle is introduced to recall how it was the Columban zeal and devotion, and not fisherman's experience nor pirate's daring,

which developed what seemed to these new miracles, of 'sailing against wind and tide.' Their skill thus educated and encouraged Norseman and Briton towards their mastery of the seas, and their zeal carried them forth on explorations the most adventurous; so that many ages later, Columbus was fortified not a little for his great quest by the tradition of St. Brandan.

Important as were the missions of Iona, successively to Inch-Colm, to Holy Isle, and even to York and Oxford, their influence was greater on the Continent. St Gall, Ratisbon, Vienna and most others of the many historic Scottish Monasteries and Colleges of the Continent were thus founded. That these are by no means shadowy memories, but enduring achievements, was well recognised a few years ago in the celebration, by the great metropolis of Vienna, of the foundation of the Scottish Cloister, which is to this day central upon its town plan, as of old in its spiritual life.

Yet this long line of international influence and achievement had an even greater result; for this Celtic influence at once culminates, ends, say rather dissolves into the larger world, with the tale of Charlemagne founding his schools of Paris, by help of two scholars who continued this long tradition, Alcuin of York, and his fellow from Holy Isle.

EPILOGUE

THE STATUE OF ST. COLUMBA

Procession of the Celtic Peoples.
The Building of the Pedestal.
The Placing of the Statue.

THE recent reopening and present restoration of Iona Cathedral are plainly of far more importance than Scotland has yet commonly realised. In all our stormy history there is but one single figure whom all sections, divisions, classes, faiths of this much divided land have each accepted as representative — St Columba. His life by Adamnan, as regards its literary significance, was the first of that long line of biographies in which Scottish writers have since so often excelled, witness in recent times, Boswell, Lockhart, Carlyle. Columba's later biographers, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, find also in him their true exemplar; while the latest biography, the most widely appreciative of all, is due to Mr Victor Branford, once of this Tower, and since a pillar of the Sociological Society, who no less appropriately interprets Columba with his complex qualities, high aims and rare success as having been the foremost sociologist and psychologist of his day.

Among the many civic suggestions of our Outlook Tower, and amidst its endeavours towards the improvement of Edinburgh, in the recent Cities and Town Planning Exhibition, was the proposed statue of St Columba, by Prof. Portsmouth of the Art College. This should fitly stand at the head of the

Lawnmarket; for here is not only the very spot where Columba may most probably have preached, but where he is again needed to stand to unite the separate yet kindred denominations whose three Assemblies meet around; and these in renewing sympathy with the many other churches and centres of good will and fellowship not far away.

Hence our Epilogue; which instead of recalling the past, as hitherto, now boldly anticipates the future; and this as rightly acknowledging its Heritage and renewing it. Our theme is therefore

THE COMMEMORATION OF ST. COLUMBA

by erection of his statue, now in preparation, at the meeting of Lawnmarket and West Bow, where it should stand—midway among the Assembly Halls and Churches which have for the time being lost their ancient and future unity. Edinburgh (the Maiden of the Edinburgh City Arms) receives a procession of representatives of the leading Celtic peoples, each group bringing a block for the pedestal. The Bretons, since our most distant guests, head the line, with 'Arvor', the typical representative of old Brittany, followed by peasants (the kindly 'onion-boys 'who are our annual visitors). Then the Welsh, similarly with 'Wales,' followed by Bard, Druid Bard, and Ovate. The Irish next, with 'Erin,' and her maidens, followed by peasants bearing one the Green Branch and the other the Red. Next, Celts from Canada and other Dominions. Then the Highlanders, with 'Alban' and Sennachie, with due escort. Finally, to preside

over the whole, 'Celta,' a venerable woman, bearing a standard upon which are emblazoned the emblems of all the preceding Celtic peoples, with those of Cornwall and Man also. Beckoned by Celta, the Welsh Bards come forward, with their ceremonial 'Call of Peace,' and the representatives of the various peoples then come forward with their stones for the pedestal, the Irish placing the first, and the Canadian Highlanders the last. Celta joins their hands with those of the four national figures around the pedestal. The sculptor now brings in the statue.

Chanting is heard in the distance, and Columban monks return from the past, each under the symbolic veil of Memory.

Modern ecclesiastics now enter,actually representing many different denominations. They place the statue upon its pedestal, Celta then joins their hands in a second circle, and predicts in Gaelic and in English to all present that this scene shall actually be accomplished, and before the eyes of many of those here present. A Columban Hymn from 'Carmina Gadhelica' is sung by all assembled. Evening falls, as all go out, and a star shines out in the sky above the statue.

This simple scene needs no further explanation or commentary. It is the type of prophecy which begins at once to organise its own fulfilment; and the erection of this statue will henceforth be included in that general scheme of renewal and monumental adornment of the 'Historic Mile' of Old Edinburgh, towards which the Outlook Tower and

the allied Town and Gown Association, Ltd., have now for so many years been labouring. The co-operation of the Old Edinburgh Club, the Cockburn Association, the St Andrew Society, and many other lay bodies may also be invited, as well as that of religious bodies of all denominations in Edinburgh and beyond.

So far this Epilogue in its immediate detail. Its wider symbolism will be obvious; its bearing upon our attitude to the past and the heritage we have received from it.

Note.—Should this Masque of Ancient Learning, like its companion, be produced in London, a scene of more distinctly Welsh and Anglo-Celtic interest will naturally replace the preceding Epilogue.

REPERTORY OF FURTHER MASQUES OF ANCIENT LEARNING

The Masque of Early Man

I

The opening scenes are plainly but a first suggestion, a germinal beginning, towards the needed 'Masque of Early Man.' This could readily occupy an evening's performance; indeed it will in time again develop, into a trilogy, a tetralogy, a whole series, of kindred Masques! Even then we should be severely condensing the result of Anthropology and of Archæology; and in ways which would shock some of their most esteemed cultivators as incomplete, as 'premature,' as even 'popular'! Yet none the less one such Masque at least, should in our time be aimed at; and this with more and more of that concrete vividness, that concentrated simplicity, that symbolic intensity, that poignancy of direct appeal to sympathetic emotion, by which all the sciences, each in its own way have ere long to be re-presented, re-generalised—that is re-generated—by Art. For Anthropology we have already such begninings, witness 'The Jungle Book,' In Paris especially, painters like Cormon, sculptors also, and writers like Rosny, have long been setting kindred examples; while both in America and at home living teachers are admirably beginning this masquing in the schools. For how better may children advance than by repeating the essential stages of human progress, by thus climbing up the ladder of evolution?

Yet there still too much lies upon the progress of these sciences the dead hand of the anatomist, with his well-nigh exclusive skull-collections and skull-measurements: for craniology has now been for a generation and more the most pretentious, yet probably the least productive of all branches of science, even the strictly necrological ones. Yet as the living naturalist, the true biologist, is not primarily a collector of things dead, but a lover of things living, so the real anthropologist, in fact above all other men of science, is a child of larger growth. Full of wonder and sympathy, kindness and helpfulness,he wanders weaponless through the world, now across a dark continent, again to cannibal isles, his trustfulness disarming even in his wildest fellow-men. He shares their work and play; he elicits their song and story; he enters into their sorrows and fears and hopes; he thence interprets their very dreams. Thus he finds the origins, he penetrates the meanings of their strangest taboos, he traces out their grotesquest symbolisms; often even where the significance of all these had been forgotten by the folk themselves.

All this patient and sympathetic understanding, so meaningless to the cruder teacher and would-be civiliser, and so undesired by the trader and conqueror who follow him, is yet rewarded; and this beyond anticipation. For since Herbert Spencer's day, and even earlier, it has been leading us to the interpretation and comprehension of our own dominant occidental civilisation-medley, from which all these visitors of the savage come. It may be towards its ever-attempted purification, even its

needed renewal. For as Anthropology widens and deepens, it finds profound analogies to our own ways and doings, no less than those of simpler peoples: it deciphers positive origins, even of our own customs and institutions, our manners and our laws. It explains the simple origins of the noblest and most civilising arts; and above all, it is throwing new and unexpected light upon the dawning of religions.

In summary then, the beginnings of anthropology, its best applications, do not really lie in proving, by a ten-thousandth grave-violation, that some people's skulls tend to be long, and others broad. Nor are these even to be sought in such facts as that the bigger the collection of weapons the more curious their variations, even in evolutionary series, interesting though these be. Its true starting-point as a living science, its best result also, its growing generalisation therefore, is in that saying current among its true experts—'the more we come to know and understand the savage, the more we respect him, the more even we love him.' Anthropology, here at its best, is thus recovering for the Christian world its longest lost, its oftenest lost vision, that of the net of Peter. At its conventional worst—that still academically predominant,' and especially in this country—it awaits, alike for its revival at home, and for its advance abroad, this renewal of its sympathies. First among the sciences, indeed above all, it needs our Masque: not only for its popular exposition, but for its advance, it requires the help of the arts, the literal evocation of each and all the Muses. Of their

infancy and growth must it not contain the secrets? is it not even beginning to reveal them? Again, is it not this helpful recovery and return of the Muses that we modern mechanicals and moneyers now most need, more than any past and simpler children of men, for the uplift of our own squalid and disordered civilisation, in so many ways justly pitied by every member of the nature-peoples who has ever visited it?

The symbol and quest of Anthropology has thus, and quite literally, to be redeemed, from that death's head and cross-bones which has too often inspired its (and our) 'progress,' throughout its vast yet swiftly narrowing regions of inquiry. Well that its few best recent workers are truly advancing—yet, alas, as the nature-peoples disappear—far beyond their predecessors' mere outward gains of trophy and skull; and this in the measure of their own inward change, of heart aglow.

Thus approached, these long-vanished or now-vanishing children of our race, with their strange yet simple ways, their dances, fancies, fetishes, are seen to present us with the mystery of man, the story of his humble origin. Here is the oldest of Miracle-Plays, that of his birth, his early nurture among the kindly creatures. Here are the legends of his infancy, the temptations and struggles of his youth; here, and oftenest of all, is the tragedy of his martyrdom.

II

HOW shall we achieve the rehabilitation of less well-armed Races and Peoples in the esteem of

others, and above all of our masterful and spreading selves? More simply, how shall we relieve, retrieve ourselves from our old formula—of 'manners none and customs disgusting': or of late, of more brutal brevity still—of 'niggers,' by which our generation, and that of America perhaps even more, go on lapsing, not only from Christianity, but from ordinary manners, and common feeling, from the capacity of open-eyed observation and science, and even the simplest common sense. History tells with what wondering and admiring welcome the first negroes were received in Lisbon in the days of the Navigator; and was it not mainly their open and trusting childlikeness which tempted a later generation to enslave them? Even without our stage, it would be easy to show how even with a grain of knowledge, a spark of honest enquiry, the most despised or so-called backward people appear in wholly new lights: witness the Australians, for whom the still customarily held ideas are so absurdly, antipodally, mistaken. Enough, however, here for the writer to acknowledge that the interpretation of the Muses of our Hellenic scene, which further study has justified for other high cultures generally, found its origin not in Hesiod, but in discerning in travellers' tales, and with the help of a Toy Exhibition, the few and simple Muses of the Australians.

Does the visitor to a museum— puzzled, guideless, tired as he is—merely say: 'What barbaric costumes! What complicated weapons!' It may be right to think people barbaric in proportion to the comp-

lexity of their war-work; bur if so, we are hardly the people to say this. So for costumes; if their simplicity be next the fault, is not this our newest gospel of health? There are worse ones.

But his unbridled vices, passions, promiscuities, these surely are what debase the savage? Again mainly, massively untrue, even libellous! Savage morality—now that enquiry begins to follow upon sentence—turns out other than we thought: our eugenists are but mere beginners. As actually occupied, with his colleague of the 'Evolution of Sex' and others, in the various and difficult enquiries into how the vice of cities, the demoralisation of their youth, may be stayed, the writer may fairly ask—Is any light to be obtained from educated bodies—academic, governmental or local? As yet no ray. From schools? A little. From Churches? Too little; and these seldom Protestant. From Medicine? Too little also. From Law? Zero. From savage and seeming simple folk? Most of all:—and not as to fundamentals merely: ideals also. One main statement of the task of remoralisation of cities, and with this of the renewal and application of ethics from its learned paralysis, is in fact that of the recovery of what are essentially the initiation-sacraments of the savage. Thus take the epoch-making and inspiring 'Adolescence' of Stanley Hall. No one knows better than that author himself, that the advance he is forcing our reluctant, taboo-ridden civilisation to make, is but a fresh evidence of how, when the Occident

imagines itself in the van of humanity, it is sometimes because it has fallen so far into the rear.

But the superstitions, the taboos, the bogeys and terrors of the savage! surely we shall have him on these grounds? So thinks his civilised prosecutor. So far granted; one of our scenes has shown this to the plainest of our power. But who are we to cast stones? It is no far fetched suggestion of meaning, but a plain reminder, that these child-folk, quailing, fleeing before their bogey, are also showing forth ourselves, and ours. What difference is there, the more we think of it? the more we see how we surround our whole lives by fear-bogeys, and of these far more than the savage. Witness poverty, only for simplest, not to speak of foolisher, wickeder, more complicated ones.

Sartor gives us his Masque and Philosophy of Clothes as history of civilisation; and it is much, but not enough. But civilisation as 'The Masque of Learning!' Alas! for too much of our civilisation, might it not be nearer the truth to scheme it all out a second time, and now as 'The Masque of Bogeys?' And this in no mere passing jest, but as the very play of our lives. Why not then also as prologue, towards the Miracle-play of our emancipation?

It is plainly time to pause, lest this new Masque begin to frighten our present circle, at any rate before it is time. Enough if it be granted that we have at least begun to justify our thesis—that of our Outlook Tower 'World-storey,' since its beginnings—that of the popularisation of Anthropology and

Archæology. All this so treated as to renew our human feelings for our simpler fellows—to awaken ourselves to the past evils and present shortcomings of our own lives; and so go forth afresh upon life's pilgrimage—each to recover its high Heritage, and to seek out release from its accompanying Burden. It is thus no hackneyed saying, that a touch of kindness makes the whole world kin; but a prophecy, which needs all that anthropology can bring towards its fulfilment. Place then, and players, for the approaching Masque of Man!

The Masque of Babylon and Assyria

Our initial scene has suggested how we may here with peculiar simplicity outline some of the broadest features of the origins and development of civilisation, and even interpret much of its history, as the story of the 'Valley Section;' and thus of the interaction of its nature-occupations, and especially of peasant below and hunter above. Further for the origins of town life, from its developments of peasant and others upon the agricultural plain.

We next come to details. Since Layard's startling discoveries, the possibilities of Mesopotamian archæology have been seen. Hence excavations proceed; and from their direct relation to Biblical studies and antiquities they are especially supported from this country and America, but with no small interruptions from lack of means. Yet why should research societies always hunt for

subscriptions in one quarter, and then publish their learned work mainly in another, when they might so readily, as Masquers, widely popularise their science; and even, with good fortune, earn something towards its living as well!

Here a comparative question arises. It is now a good many years since M. Terrien de la Couperie, having committed the indiscretion of interesting himself not only in Cuneiform, but in Chinese also, suggested their fundamental correspondence—and common origin. He simply and ingeniously explained their difference of aspect, as in principle determined by the contrast of the sharply linear and angular scratches of a stylus, even in clay, with the wavy and flowing lines, which arise through painting with a brush on absorbent rice paper: though military sternness and strength on one hand, peasant leisure and old age on the other may have something to do with emphasising this contrast. But neither Assyriologists nor Sinologists were to be so easily lured out of their depth. M. Terrien, henceforth unemployed, quietly starved: and too few, even of scholars, seem even to have heard its author's name, still less to know whether this bright hypothesis has been verified or not.

Since archæological and biblical interests are here so various, let us next insist a moment upon the scientific. The astronomer prizes his too few existent Chaldean observations, and would gladly find more in the brick libraries still doubtless below ground. And so for other studies. Medical

literature already abounds; and though at first sight it may seem uninteresting enough—a medley of herbalism, quackery, magic and what not—it may yet be winnowed. There are grounds for expecting it may reward the speculative physician. Long before the germ theory was at all popularised, and a good many years before Koch's discovery of the bacillus of tuberculosis, an Assyriologist, deciphering his bricks, tranquilly noted down and printed in his volume, that 'the wasting sickness is communicated by the sputum of the patient.' He went quietly on without a suspicion of the world-significance of this in detail for modern life, and in general towards the explanation of that persistence of great city-populations in health for long ages, from which we moderns seem still too far.

Correspondingly we find that the Egyptian hieroglyphic for plague signifies a rat; though we have only learned to associate these two ideas in very recent years. Yet a third example: 'The pestilence that walketh in darkness' is not a mere literary fear-image, though a vivid one. It is perhaps the most forcible way of impressing upon plain folk that disease germs are killed by sunlight.

Since the physician as well as the divine may thus learn from Babylon, may not administration and law learn something also? They do. In the literature of historic sociology, there are few more vitally suggestive and educative chapters, than those of Von Jhering, Roman and comparative lawyer, upon Babylonian origins and developments, in his

"Origin of the Aryans." That politics and philology may profit too, and by other instances than Babel, seems also not impossible; but in these we have no skill.

The Masque of Egypt

The long Masque of Egypt, of all the needed Pageants of Antiquity, is that for which the richest and completest materials exist; and these are ever accumulating, year by year; thanks to the skilled and strenuous spade-work, the patient studies of increasing and sharpening investigators. All the more, therefore, the expression of their results cannot end with the enrichment of museums, the publication of monographs, or the giving of lectures: all these are but a beginning. For the real problem is to permeate the mind—the educated mind the public mind, the world's mind—with a comprehension of the drama of ancient Egypt, and an intelligent and detailed recognition of its significance—and this again not as merely in the past; but as still living on in the present, even as affecting the future. Each of these it is indeed doing; in various and demonstrable ways, whether as yet generally recognised or no; hence doubtless in ways as yet unseen also. Of this vastest of all chronologic sequences in the world's history, the records and monuments, as above noted, are being unweariedly recovered, studied, and reconstructed and set forth, at once in museum and in text, with wealth of clear illustrations and colour-reproduction. Great and growing, therefore, is the treasury upon which, as Masquers, we have to draw. Yet no-

where more than from this richest of ancient histories we must select; and this from each needed point of view. Our Egyptian group has been already fortunate in combining the needful elements of Egyptological learning, artistic and dramatic skill and intensity: may it not therefore look forward to developing its present initiative, until in some future and not too distant year, the Masque of Egypt may be presented with this threefold appeal?

Beyond even the direct and characteristic, well summarised and typical presentment of its times, events and types, which each and every main group of our present Masque has for its immediate problem, there arise for its adequate conception and comprehension, larger questionings, of the kinds so often suggested or emphasised throughout this booklet and its fellow, and thence interwoven, alike in general and particular, throughout both Masques' design. Geographic and historic enquiries and comparisons, interpretations and suggestions, pass onwards into sociological ones, and these have to be pursued to their wider relations, temporal and spiritual.

Our two Egyptian scenes above are already chosen and presented in this spirit: for where better than in the Masque of Egypt, be this on small scale or great, can we see life more clearly, as the great game ever played between two essential sets of conditions—the material and the ideal, the fundamental and supreme? For our first scene, that of labour in one of its characteristic problems, the fundamental material conditions were naturally the

more obviously in evidence: for the second--the Funeral scene--the latter, the ideal conditions. Yet great deities--Isis, Thoth--were shown presiding above the peasants' toil. Again, as the student of religion searches into the divine ideals; he finds these not a little associated with generalised aspects of natural conditions and their interaction--of Soil and River, Desert and Sun.

Does any one still think the story of Egypt only a learned puzzle, and the furthest-fetched at that? Any still as a winter-sport for Cookists, warm instead of cold? Our developed Masque of Egypt would help all such, even the most fiercely 'practical'; and this, in many ways, literally ranging from one end of the Empire to the other, and in business and politics alike. Start then, even at its end remotest from Egypt, and nearest business. One of our foremost sculptors has pointed out, in vigorous missionary discourses and epistles to the Aberdonians, that the problem of their best-known industry, that of granite-working, is neither to imitate paper nor polish; nearly though their triumph in this style may, for the time being, deceive a public educated on nothing more solid. Their real, and in every sense enduring success, he tells them, must none the less depend upon their recovering that sense of the qualities, and of the limitations, of their noble material, in which the Egyptian sculptor, despite all the havoc of time, has left evidence so perfect, in works so simple, yet to this day unsurpassedly sublime. Next turn to the statesmen of Empire. What

more economic task has ever been attempted within its whole range and record, than this of renewing that work of Nile-control, of irrigation and desert-reclamation which was the early, and the sustained, and the expanding achievement of Egyptian science and government? Civil engineering, and here at its very best, may thus be described as the very type, as well as the agency, of an Egyptian renascence, and this in many senses. First of course that simplest agricultural renewal which none but recognise as the desert blossoms: thence to the growth of population and wealth; and next from the immediate developments, and problems these involve, onwards. Problems social, intellectual, political; some plainly recognised by practical men, both workers and statesmen, both Egyptian and British; and others more doubtfully foreseen, more dimly suggested, yet none the less real and approaching. The Indian or Californian engineer, in his own vast expansion of irrigation and reclamation, recalls his 'debt to Egypt, and is proud to be in his way a son of old Nilus: but of wider influences, on State, of Water-state, he has hardly reflected, if as yet at all. Yet of these the alternatives, the comparative historian knows, range from utmost servitude to strongest citizenship; from the state of fellahin at their lowest historic abjection, to that of Lombardy in its well-being and strength, of Holland in its unconquerable individuality, of China in its patriarchal persistence—in each and every case the reward of wisdom and virtues based upon peasant labour and its river-control.

So with the ever increasingly urgent tasks of Peace. Beyond and above all the intricacies of our historic wars and congresses, diplomacies and arbitrations, stands the story of Egypt; and this both as regards the lessons of its decline, and the potentialities, and suggestions of its incipient renewal.

So far then it may be conceded that our Masque—as type of vividly realised Egyptian studies, and thence of their wider bearings, may have practical importance as well as educational interest. What of the religious significance on which our scenes have already laid such stress? Or—avoiding this question for the present, as too far-reaching for present limits—what of her quaint hieroglyphics? Can these have any bearings and use for moderns? Surely they are superseded for good, along with their beginnings, in the picture-writing of savages? Say rather—as surely as all these must return! For from elementary schoolroom to university laboratory and study, are not graphic notations advancing anew, to generalise (that is, dominate) the verbal and auditive ones? Take a single instance. The to most students comparatively modern problem of the classification of the sciences, so long and especially a central problem of our Outlook Tower since its beginnings twenty and more years ago, has been there expressed from the very first in terms of the obelisk and essentially hieroglyphic symbols of one of its few stained windows. Not even the occultist, with all his Egyptian reverence, has yet adequately realised the potencies of such

notations. Still seldomer has he, or his antithesis yet complement the official scientist, commonly so contemptuous of occultisms, so indifferent to hieroglyphics, realised that his own diagrams—the 'conceptual shorthand' of Karl Pearson's happy phrase—are becoming more and more nearly akin to those of Egyptian mystery. The Egyptologist, though he may not yet enough realise it, as he deciphers, still more as he tries to write for himself, is not only working parallel to the notations of science, but sometimes even in advance of them. More: he is preparing for a fresh treatment of philosophy; he is contributing to a potent and far-reaching calculus of life; and with this even an organon of speculative theology, of mystic initiation. All these high syntheses have again as of old, to be rewritten, and now as soon as may be, in what are truly hieroglyphics;—at first doubtless by the initiated for the initiated, yet thus made plain. It is an old and simple paradox: for after all how better can we ensure that he who runs may read?

Our projected Masque of Egypt has thus not only many meanings, but applications to modern life perhaps no less manifold. Take one more, this time concrete and generally known—the submergence of the glorious temple-group of Philae, so long the very cynosure of Egyptian travel. All protest and endeavours to save this have failed, whether made on ground of Egyptological interest and archæologic piety, of historic importance, of artistic beauty or religious tradition. The Egyptian Government has not only taken its decision, but

well-nigh completed the work ; so that all dissentient voices have now died away into regrets, mostly sullen and silent, yet at times pathetic and pungent, as with Pierre Loti. What then is left for our Masque to do?—save perhaps to arrange a scene of sunset, with the historic columns sinking beneath the rising flood—or for the spectator to muse on its melancholy symbolism? Moreover, must we not after all candidly admit that, with all their Philistinism, the Government and its engineers are in the right? A venerable monument is much, but a fertilised and extended Egypt is far more. To shrink from admitting this would be false to our whole presentment of the march of civilisation, whose emancipation from the dead hand of the past is so essentially our theme. Yet it is when thesis and antithesis have alike been clearly stated, that synthesis can have its turn ; and here the synthesis is plain. Let us have fertility first, and save these temples too. In Edinburgh, and in London also, our little group has had experience, not only of saving historic buildings, but of moving, stone by stone, what could not be preserved in place : witness the recent rebuilding of Crosby Hall, demolished in the City, upon the next most appropriate possible site, that of More's actual garden in Chelsea. The temples of Philae would present in some respects a simpler task : let us then boldly renew the suggestions of this, which have too much fallen out of sight? Let us actually make it a definite purpose of our Masque of Egypt to strengthen public opinion, by recitals in this country, and if need be also in Cairo, until the Philae temples

have been lifted stone by stone, and replaced as is perfectly possible with ordinary care and skill —upon the appropriate site hard by? In this connection the concluding scene of the present Masque of Ancient Learning will be seen to have suggestiveness—that continuing the story of the Celtic past by the reverent erection of the Monument of St. Columba upon its appropriate site, and this within the reasonably immediate future.

The Masque of Israel

The Masque of Israel at its fullest would indeed be long; in fact here above all a whole succesion of masques suggest themselves, probably to most minds most easily.

It is not a little strange that in our cities as yet the Jewish communities, although often prosperous and always with an unusual proportion of talent, especially musical and frequently dramatic, should not ere now themselves have presented the essentials of their striking history to the world, and this for the sake of the education of their own rising generation, as well as for that increased sympathy and understanding of the Christian public, which could not but result from it. Our few scenes already express the beginning of a co-operation from Jewish students of the University, and fuller developments may naturally come with time. Even in Edinburgh—despite the popular impression that there are no Jews in Scotland—there are three Synagogues. The practical absence of any intolerance in Britain towards the Jewish community is not a little due to the sympathetic understanding

which has been infused by the Reformers, and by the inestimable Authorised Version in which their labours culminated. The Bible, and the Old Testament on the whole more generally than the New, has thus been for three centuries our fundamental textbook, both of social history and of biographic development. So general is this national tradition, and so apart from all our differences, that though vivid and forcible expositions of the value of Biblical instruction have naturally been made by divines and teachers of each denomination, these might well agree that there are few more glowing, and perhaps none more convincing for the man in the street, here so primarily concerned, than that of the late Professor Huxley, as member of the London School Board.

What other literature affords such a wealth of plans and plots of life? From cosmic and human origins onwards, through Patriarchal ages and Mosaic traditions, through tales of Judges and chronicles of Kings, books of the Law and the Prophets, of Psalms and Wisdom—what variety of subject and detail, what intensity of contrast, what richness of scenic possibilities, from simplicity to splendour. What multitudinous types of personality; and above all, what high and sustained moods of the spirit. What dramatic vicissitudes; from pastoral simplicity to Egyptian bondage, and once more to Bedouin freedom in the wilderness; thence, through conquest, to agricultural settement and town life; and of this a development which made their little mountain citadel one of the three supreme cities; in its own way unique. Often

conquered—it would almost seem easily—exiled, dispersed, they yet fought immortal wars of Independence under the Maccabees, and made the hardest resistance the Romans met in all their history. And though since the siege of Jerusalem they have never had means or place to fight again, but have had to endure new dispersals, harder captivities, they have ever and anon renewed that higher warfare for which the broken spirit forges afresh and tempers with tears the broken sword.

Learning and scholarship, philosophy, metaphysics and ethics, music and mathematics, medicine and pharmacy, all owe high debts to Israel, and this through the darkest ages, in medieval and in renaissance times, and again to-day; Jewish learning might thus make no small pageant of its own. And the Jewish Encyclopædia stands ready: learning and science are but strong meat for artist and dramatiser.

Return however to that spiritual evolution of Israel which is her central greatness. Recall the song of the Hebrews in the scene of their captivity. Apart even from religion, realise its temporal significance. The direct transmission to other peoples of their example of ennoblement through defeat and suffering has been one of the greatest services to the world of Israel's memorable captivity. France in the Hundred Years War, Scotland after Flodden, perhaps also Hungary after Mohacz, are but instances, among many, of this direct consolation. For something of analogous nation-revival with less direct impulse from Hebrew history, the

uplift of Germany after Jena, and within our own memories, of France after Sedan, are again but the most conspicuous examples. The recent victories of the Balkan nationalities over their long oppressor have again much of this element; and a similar process is at work after forty years in Alsace-Lorraine. In the same way foreign eyes report it in Ireland. In Poland, however—those tell us who know its life and its literature, alike so full of poignancy, of well-nigh broken, yet unconquerable, hope—is the supreme example of modern times, perhaps since Israel itself.

Of the Masque of Israel, and its appeal beyond all confessional limits, there is thus no doubt. Let us return to our initial theme—that of utilising this central literature, both for religious and literary instruction and more and more vitally in our national education.

The experience of childhood has too often been less fortunate than in the home teaching of old. The routine grammaticalism of the Renaissance decadence can seldom fail of its deadening influence upon the sermon: hence in fact it is that the evangelist so commonly comes not from a priestly college but from the people. Then came the nineteenth century educational 'system'—that of taking the Renaissance verbalisms, re-formalising and re-memorising them, and then codifying and examining on top of all. All most seductive to the power-loving bureaucrat, enslaving to the submissive pedagogue, illusive to the parent, thus doubly superseded, and—as we may see around us at all

ages—soul-destructive to the child. For true education depends beyond all things upon the early arousal and guidance of the emotional life. This, the simplest mother-instinct knows, is fed with song and story ; and has been starved beyond all precedent since the 'System' eliminated story, song and mother alike. That such things are now mending does not affect an historic summary ; nor has the mending gone far enough.

Bad scriptural instruction has thus often been made worse than none. Whereas, witness for Scotland those few greatest teachers, who will be longest and most gratefully remembered in our annals. Who are they ? Not, as most still think, George Buchanan, great humanist though he was, preparing his ineffective yet disastrous pedant for power and pride, and towards dynastic fall. Nor Buchanan's successors, who have carried on his too inverted torch. Not even those who at this day go on reinforcing their System, from wire-pulling into concrete, those who issue or those who obey the ukáses of 'My Lords,' who issue or inspect the passports of their examination, or who bow lowest to the purse of millions. For great teachers who have really achieved vital uplifts in Scottish history we think of Robert Burns' old nurse, and Robert Louis', of Walter Scott's kindly aunts and shepherd friends, and the like—in short, the singer and tale-teller, the bardic woman, be she young sibyl or old grand-dame, to whom each rare 'Egeria' is but a return—a natural one as soon as we are ready to allow it. That the pupil may become eminent is but an incidental matter : even the best teachers

may have no such immediate and dramatic good-fortune. But wherever the right work is done, it tells on the nation : and in the long run, it finds its share of utterance, even that of genius.

To the schools then, the innumerable scenes and stories of Israel may be safely commended for treatment as dramatic as may be. In such ways better Masques than we could plan will naturally grow.

The Masque of India

The Masque of India should peculiarly reward presentment upon an adequate scale. For in what civilisation and history do we find so marvellous a development of all the great types and issues of life, and of each to its logical and practical extremes, its vital outcomes? The great castes are examples of this, in their poverty, their wealth,and their elaboration of both. On one side an exuberance of power and splendour, of luxury and pomp, which has ever allured the world's imagination : on the other, a naive simplicity, a cheerful poverty, or a strictness of asceticism, a sternness of self-mortification, each unexampled.

Much of this has been preserved for us in Indian art, which we have long failed even to recognise, much less to penetrate or comprehend. But the artist with Abanindranath Tagore and Mrs.Herringham, the teacher with Mr. Havell, and the critic with Sister Nivedita and Dr. Coomaraswamy, are at length revealing to us its beauty and its significance.

It is a noteworthy character of the civilisation of India, and from our present point of view especially, that the Pageant still survives. And this neither as a memory or a mimicry of public life, but as its culminating feature—witness the long historic series of Durbars, of which the recent one at Delhi has lately been brought so vividly before us. Yet imperial pageants, even more than civic ones, as yet too exclusively express the temporal side of life; and thus, with all their splendours they fail in making that enduring impression which more spiritual conceptions and purposes alone can give, even with resources comparatively insignificant. The true Pageant of India is thus still to plan. It needs the Durbar's expression of races, regions, cities; but still more that of religions, the coming of ideals, their passing, and their renewing.

For the appeal and world-influence of India, not only in its mighty past, but in recent and present days, and assuredly therefore in its re-opening future—is above all in its clear and sustained idealism. Idealism at every level—from the simplest family relations—as of childhood, of wife and husband, of son and mother—up to the fantastic splendours, the tropic fecundities of its protean symbolisms, the intricate and glowing palimpsests of its innumerable, ever-returning gods. And thence beyond, to high and serene philosophies, each a peak-cluster of snows, piercing the heavy atmosphere of man's common life—beckoning him, at boldest, to the ether; pointing him, even at simplest, to the stars.

A word now of the problems and the significance of India as regards higher education and its institutions. Such interchanges of life and thought, such uplifts of art and vision, even upon less high idealistic levels, quite overstep, we are told, the established and necessary 'curriculum' (*i.e.* routine) of our Universities, Indian or British. Such studies 'do not pay': and all institutions proclaim it with one voice; the conquered and submissive, with the authoritative and fallen. Each is intent, as it assures us—in phrase even more perfect than it knows—upon 'the necessity of maintaining a uniform level.'

Is it not time publicly to recognise the fact, since as individuals none deny it—that, apart from exceptions, such would-be educational machineries are not functioning as Universities to any real extent, and so far as their main work goes? On all sides it is admitted that not only the Indian form of Western Higher Education, so called, but also the home institutions upon whose models that education was cast, are admittedly failing? Why, then, let them go on as we do, year after year, creaking down traditional ruts? Let us at least take stock of them. And if, as again no thinking man denies, their and our official system be essentially of precedents and routine, and the corresponding curriculum be undeniably a medley, indeed a jumble, of medieval, renaissance and utilitarian survivals, half-precious, half-decayed, with new, and still unorganised specialisms, why not now recognise the fact publicly no less than privately? Why not prepare to transfrom it, alike in India and

at home? The early Victorian Philistines, from whose Futilitarianism we are at length so bitterly revolting, had at least the courage of their convictions. Why not we of ours?

Because we are still lacking in conviction; and without conviction courage can be but rashness. 'On ne detruit que ce qu'on remplace.' Hence it is that 'University Reform' even in Scotland, where it is not least needed, is no longer the slogan it was. For constructive statesmanship, synthesis and inspiration are alike indispensable; and both are as yet to seek.

We return then to our Masque, with its retrospect, its confrontation of the essentials of Indian and of Occidental thought. For now, when we come to our Western origins, we shall find them more Oriental then we knew. Aristotle, although our foremost system-maker, was never a curriculum-enforcer. His master, Plato, was no mere professor, tutor or don; but a Guru. Above all, Socrates,—though, beyond all men, remembered in history as the questioner—was never an examiner: he lived and laboured as a birth-helper of the spirit, not a chooser of spirits slain.

What if it be to this Hellenic and Indian level that our educational life, and even its essential organisation, in Occident and in Orient, must again be simplified, and thus uplifted? When our existing systems are functioning cerebrally at all, is it not in the measure of some such survival or recovery, here and there, of this living contact of mind with mind, of ardour and experience, of youth and age, as even our best regulated institutions can

never wholly suppress, most nearly in history though they now approach this? Thus it is that the most pioneering of living pedagogues and of American University educationalist-principals has defined the University—that of past, present, future—as 'an association of picked adolescents with picked senescents'—(not senilescents). In short, re-enter Guru and disciples, master and scholars: exeunt Chancellors, University Courts and Boards, for their season of meditation, too long delayed. The Academe was of this high simplicity, and again must be: only thus can arise the Symposium, with its yet higher nnd maturer converse.

With such a revival of Indian education—and there are increasing signs of it, and even beginnings—our Indian Masquers will more than ever offer us, from their ample repertory, things new as well as old.

The Masque of Hellas

Manifold indeed are the *Masques of Hellas* which suggest themselves for our growing collaboration—of library and museum, studio and stage; of school, university and city. Our three main groups here shown and above interpreted—say, rather, sketched and shadowed—which we may respectively call the Primitive and Poetic, the Mythopoetic, and the Historic—might readily expand into a veritable Trilogy; and each with its appropriate mode of presentment and of music.

Yet of these three the order might sometimes with advantage be reversed. For to the modern temper, which even the schoolboy brings—with its poverty alike of primitive experiences and poetic ones, but with some historic feeling and openness to the conception of human progress—the historic achievements of Greece, and our heritage from her are more immediately of interest than are her early developments, or their poetisation ; unfamiliar also, as these are, from their Mediterranean conditions and their historic remoteness. But for any child awakening to historical and cultural interests, what more vivid beginning than with her Persian War of Independence, so fundamental to the whole story of Europe? Another traditional and in its way no less excellent beginning is with Plutarch's Lives, as introduction to her unparalleled succession and variety of great individualities.

By whatever means an active and studious interest is once aroused, it may be richly nourished. The scholar contributes his critical editions ; the museum exhibits its treasures ; and the great plays are revived, alike in translation and in original. The traditional level of learned scholarship and appreciative culture may thus be attained. Yet this no longer reaches the higher standard of a modern university, which increasingly demands personal activity and labour, and looks for specific contributions to knowledge in this or that department.

Yet though original research is and must ever continue indispensable, and each graduate should

thus develop and prove his powers, this in its turn now no longer satisfies us. For the advancement of knowledge is seen to require something beyond that increase and elaboration of the articles of the Great Encyclopædia, to which our specialist enquiries are directed. We must keep pace with the changing world, from which well-nigh every main transformation of our learned cloister has actually come. For a time practical material advances, sometimes truly Promethean, or again Hippocratic, sufficed for this. At first such advances, scientific and practical, have seemed unfriendly to Greek studies, and conversely; yet here is a point of importance—mainly where the Greek scholar insists above all upon his formal and grammatical tradition from the Renaissance decadence, and where the 'Science,' pure or applied, is arrested upon the narrowly specialistic level, or that of its commercial application. But now new advances are in progress: for the sciences in terms of their history and evolution; for affairs under the guidance of a new and constructive spirit—that of a realistic economics and politics, of rural and urban development. But this is to say that the encyclopedic and the political interests of Aristotle, the idealism of the New Republic also, are approaching their renewal upon our modern spiral. Further, that the constructive attitude of Xenophon for the country, and the ambitions of Pericles for the city, are no less reappearing as well. Thus the quarrel of 'classical' and 'modern' sides has now to be forgotten; and their exponents reunited into the culture and service of their city, hence-

forth more and more clearly understood in neo-Hellenic terms. With historic Greek cities, like Salonika and many more—looking forward, through blood and tears, to a renewal of their ancient glories, who but can doubt that a new uplift of the Hellenic City has begun? Already this is in progress far beyond old Greece; for wherever a culture-city stands, a University flourishes, there truly is a colony of Hellas. And whoever knows how truly Pallas came from the olive-yards of Attica, and the Wisdom of Solomon from the like terraces around Jerusalem, will no longer wonder over renewing idealism and developing architecture in the corresponding region of California. Why should not Wisdom build her house there also; and bring forth from her treasury things new as well as old? Stranger still, in these days has it not come to pass that a Philosopharchon may rule in Washington? Yet with the renewal of Cities, old and new alike, and to efficiency and idealism together, his appearance is no mere accident or marvel, but a normal victory, a new and significant factor in his own country's advance, and even the world's. The Greeek age thus 'begins anew; the golden years return.'

But if so, with such an historic uplift the renewal of the Mythopoetic age is also nearing. Does this seem a hard saying? Not in our Masque, with its Gods and Muses, and its corresponding theories of them; of the gods as the idealisations of the phases of life—that is the conception essential to eugenics—and of the Muses as the expression of the high

activities of life. But if such conceptions of life—biological, psychological and evolutionary—are thus evolving Gods and Muses anew, is not this some beginning of the Mythopoetic? . . . Can such things come from the mere grovelling votaries of science? the scholar may ask; but that is not criticism, much less argument. But let us begin then anew, with scholarship at its brightest, say at Athens itself and with Renan's immortal 'Priére sur l'Acropole,' and thence pass to Anatole France's 'Réponse de la Déesse.' From these the return of Pallas with the age of science will be clear.

Finally since the realistic view of life, scientific and practical, which has led us to Gods and Muses, has set out from the homely conceptions of nature and labour, of place, work, and folk, we see that the world of primitive occupations is also reached, and with this surely the poetic: here all literature is in accord with life.

Enough then for our present purpose if the essentials of a Greek repertory, satisfactory alike to Hellenist and to evolutionist be admitted as practicable. For the writer there has been no more encouraging result of these beginnings—because an earnest of their aim and purpose being increasingly carried out--than that the very scheme to which this outline and its associated brief introduction to the Roman repertory and its possiblities are intended to lead up and initiate, should have been anticipated before these pages were completed for press. Yet so it is; by the suggestion from one of

the most distinguished of our Scottish teachers of Latin and students of Roman history, to collaborate with a correspondingly learned and helpful Greek brother, towards the devolopment of our present beginnings, into a fuller 'Masque of Greece and Rome.' From the practical point of view this is of course the next and sufficient step: in good time fuller treatments of each will naturally arise.

The Masque of Rome

For *The Masque of Rome* we need not follow the retrogressive method suggested for the Trilogy of Hellas. For since by it put in touch with early beginnings, we can at once start from the ancient hill villages of which those of Capitol and Palatine became but chief. The intervening marsh is drained for market-place. The Pontifex bridges the Tiber; the hero again defends its downthrow. The market-place evolves as Forum, and its homely road becomes the Sacred Way. Curia and Temples arise; and—only too richly—patrician houses, palaces also; until imperial Rome culminates as world-capital. It falls; yet to rise in new Empires, Germanic and spiritual, whose struggle is prolonged through medieval into modern history.

As each period has found those elements in Greece which its own civilisation was learning to value and idealise, so also with Rome. Thus each new Empire—Germanic, Austrian, Russian, French, German, even American—has borrowed its eagles. But now a new age of citizenship is arising in well-nigh every country, and perhaps (who knows?)

some day a second renascence in the "Free City": of which each might thus become in many ways a New Rome once more. For Rome was not the mere military empire, the impersonal bureaucracy, not the city of pleasure, and what not which too many modern comparisons and imitations suggest. She was—above all—'The City.' Yet to recover this all essential conception, not only for Latin studies, but for our own lives, is no easy matter—especially for us, for whom this supreme achievement and noblest word of social life—'The City'—have alike fallen, until it is the enlargement of the London Ghetto which is thus suggested to many minds. Suffice it here to insist on something beyond even civic morals, beyond all duties of citizen to city, deeply though these were interpreted and inculcated of old and must be again. The essential conception of the City was a religious one—the City as a great being, a personality of higher order than the individual, as the tree is greater than the leaf; yet as none the less truly living, and with a far more continuous and essential life. A civic conception at once so simply organic and so essentially religious, it is not easy for us moderns again to reach, still less to maintain: but its value is thereby all the more justified; and the need of recovering it. The word ROMA, must not that become the school-child's first Latin lesson? and S.P.Q.R. the second? Again, for the close of School, for the entrance to College, and above all for the entry upon Life—CIVIS ROMANUS SUM.

From these two foci, we may well nigh also plan out the needed Masque of Cities. From them also this vast orbit of classical studies may vitally be recovered, and Roman authors once more understood and enjoyed; by the body of the public no doubt mainly in the vernacular, yet for the few, soon many, who would desire it, even philologically instructed from. The Renaissance decadence which still so much blights our schools—and which has mistaken for its two foci, for the child the first declension, and for the teacher the 'latest reading,' with resultant dumbness for both accordingly—will thus at length pass away. Yet not in favour of chemistry or workshop merely, as the bogey is, or used to be. With the coming in of a scientific education, it is Civics which is in the first practical place as applied science, and Sociology as the dominant intellectual one. Under this coming dispensation classical studies will again recover their meaning, and become truly classical; and their paralysis disappear. Roman studies thus restored in their due place, Latin will increasingly be added to them; even again become a spoken language. Why not even, to a simple yet real extent, in our coming Masque of Rome?

The Masques of Celtia

The Masques of Celtia will yet be manifold. Celtic studies are truly classic, and that for more than Highlanders or Irish, Welsh or Bretons separately; indeed in certain ways they are second only in significance and value to those of Greece herself,

and deeply connected with them. Old English stories begin but vaguely, with 'once upon a time'; but the Celtic 'when Beauty, the daughter of the King of Greece, came to Erin.' Hence they are of interest and value to the scholarship of the world; and their eminent cultivation in Paris, Vienna, and in some ways perhaps beyond all in Berlin, is thus not to be wondered at. What is at once marvellous and deplorable is that so few schools of Celtic studies as yet exist among ourselves. Unless we lack recent information, Oxford, Cambridge, and even Trinity College, Dublin, still remain in ignorance and destitution. In Scotland we have only one single Chair founded by the exertions of the late Professor Blackie, and a Glasgow lectureship; but in Liverpool, in Wales and in the New University of Ireland there has been more active progress.

In the present Masque, so largely connected with University Hall, its early and warm friend Professor Blackie must naturally be remembered; and this beyond the Blackie House we have named after him. But more especially in any consideration of Celtic studies may his vivid insight and vital initiative, and these upon the highest university levels—those in which the spirit of language, the life of civilisation, are again raised above their letter and detail—be commemorated, as for that championship of Celtic studies to which we owe their introduction to Edinburgh University. To develop these studies, even if it may be to win primacy in them from Berlin or Paris, from Cardiff, from Liverpool, even from Dublin itself, is surely a legitimate ambition for Scottish scholars.

But towards the actual designing of Masques of Celtia, so much would have to be said that it is best not here even attempted. Let us rather imagine another Celtic gathering, this time of poets and bards, musicians and artists, of historians, scholars and folklorists, of educationalists also. From Anatole Le Braz and his Breton colleagues, and similarly from Ireland, from Wales, from the Highlands, let us invite suggestions and contributions, and thus prepare a Pan-Celtic Masque. This in its turn would lead to the planning of a distinctive Masque for each group, and thus a worthy Tetralogy should result, which Rennes, Cardiff, Dublin, Edinburgh, might in time each present to its growing public. Indeed why not other cities?

CONCLUSION

MASQUERS and audience, or gentle reader afterwards—what are we all but children at play? We flying our kite, one painted Janus-like; you watching it where you sit, and seeing, as we run by, both the grave face and the smiling one. This long string of appended essays, it is plainly to be seen, are but so many tail-papers. They in no wise improve the look of our kite; in fact most playfellows may say that they weigh it down. And for their readableness, especially in such a position, little can be said. Yet they are concerned with the kite's working, with its balance, its continuance: and therefore with the sport in general. Nor does the parable end here; for this sport, with other ancient things, is in our day renewing, and with fresh applications—lifting young courage up to soaring vision, searching into rarer atmospheres beyond.

Yet a more vital comparison is needed. The breaking up of our initial Masque of Learning, first into two actual pageants, and now into many projected ones, is really a process of development and growth. Even the humble earth-worm, divided by the spade, may become two thereby: but there are fairy sea-worms, which at brief distance among their segments develop tentacles and eyes, each thenceforward a new head, soon to lead off an independent existence. Better still, there is one—well-named Myrianina, and to one naturalist at least a veritable 'Lieblingsthier'—which buds laterally too, and that again and again. From within, this is but a simple ramification, an organic

development, and coming individuations also. Yet at this stage, viewed from without, it appears but a medley of beginnings, a tangle of disorder, and worse—its immature half-blind growths twisted with fractured, writhing ends, like Gorgon's snaky hair.

Yet the willows whose gentle weeping gives our garden-lakes their sheen, are all but cuttings from a single wand, fetched from far eastern waters. And it is by its budding that the magic rod of Moses—at first stern, destructive, even serpentine—lives on for ever, and points beyond the alluring tree of knowledge, to the burning bush of life.

To such high imageries of life and light the Mystery and Miracle-players of the middle age were wont boldly to turn. So in their own way, the fruitful beginnings of the Greek drama. These, as we may still see among simple surviving peoples, dealt at once with the highest that they knew, yet showed this interacting with the simplest. The powers of nature, the processes of labour, the phases and crises of life, were all frankly treated, yet their ideals also —now as immanent, again as transcendent, and each by turns made plain for the simple, left veiled for the wise. So ever with history—tribal and racial for the semi-barbaric—regional, civic, cultural, human, for the civilized. To these unfailing springs of eld we therefore rightly return. And from their high outlook we see that we are among the beginnings of a fresh and freshening world-movement; amid the sources of a stream, to which ours is but one of many converging brooklets,

and on which our coloured, world-reflecting masque is but a bell upon the foam.

What is this movement? One of renewals, general and manifold: a re-valuation of life in all its aspects, a transvaluation of well nigh all existing values. From our present standpoint, and for its purpose, it is plainly one of more and more fully Dramatised Education: and this with each of these two words in its fullest classic sense and historic tradition, then raised to welding-heat and forged anew into one.

How in practice may this be effected? Living teachers are already asking this everywhere; and answering as well; now psychologically, now practically. Towards practical and experimental solutions the renewal of pageantry, the modern uplift of drama, the child-gardens since Frœbel, are obvious examples. This threefold convergence of city, theatre and school, we are now seeking to effect more fully; in action, in consciousness too, and even in conscience. These Masques are our present contribution towards this; and of the preceding sugggestions of the vast Repertory of History, some may germinate and be realised here or elsewhere, as circumstances may allow. As already mentioned under the head of the Greek repertory, preparations for elaborating a Græco-Roman Masque are suggested; and similarly perhaps for others. Such schemes are thus not Utopian but Eutopian. Between our City with her heritage of history, her command of all the arts, our University and Colleges with their varied learning, science,

skill, we have evidently the resources we require. In each individual life and education worth the name these are ever being selected from, assimilated, made effective anew. To link up these resources more fully, to diffuse them more generally to direct them more definitely towards the life of citizenship on one hand, of, inward culture upon the other—such have been the long and growing endeavours of our Outlook Tower, but now they are far more fully within the possibility and province of its Masquers.

Consultation of authorities, searchings in museums and libraries, are of course indispensable. Yet were this all our work would lack life, and be but compilation and pastiche. Nor is mere fitful and sporadic evocation enough, as of heterogeneous memories from the witch-pot, or individual phantasies from the grimoire. Its psychology must be richer, fuller, deeper. Dramatised Education needs the collaboration of artist and teacher, and each at their best, say rather of artist-teachers and teacher-artists. For all who take part, whether as players or spectators, it is obviously an awakening of imagination, and to fuller creative activities. It is an evolutionary synthesis in the making; and a manifold and ever-increasing collaboration towards its expression. For vital effect, the whole has to be infused by a common idealism, at once artistic, philosophic, and social, and applied towards the enrichment of the City's life, through the diffusion of its past Heritage, and the appreciation of its opening Future.

J'ai feint que des Dieux m'aient parlé,

. . . . . .

Face invisible ! je t'ai gravée en médailles
D'argent doux comme l'aube pâle,
D'or ardent comme le soleil,
D'airain sombre comme la nuit ;
Il y en a de tout métal,
Qui tintent clair comme la joie,
Qui sonnent lourd comme la gloire.
Comme l'amour, comme la mort ;
Et j'ai fait les plus belles de belle argile
Sèche et fragile.

Une à une, vous les comptiez en souriant,
Et vous disiez : Il est habile ;
Et vous passiez en souriant.

Aucun de vous n'a donc vu
Que mes mains tremblaient de tendresse.
Que tout le grand songe terrestre
Vivait en moi pour vivre en eux
Que je gravais aux métaux pieux,
Mes Dieux,
Et qu'ils étaient le visage vivant
De ce que nous avons senti des roses,
De l'eau, du vent,
De la forêt et de la mer,
De toutes choses
En notre chair,
Et qu'ils sont nous divinement.

HENRI DE REGNIER,
Les Medailles d'Argile.

II

THE MASQUE OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LEARNING

AND ITS MANY MEANINGS

'The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no more, if Imagination mend them.'

THE MASQUE OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LEARNING

INTRODUCTORY SCENE—THE FALL OF ROME

Triumphs of the Barbarians: boasted destruction of Rome and Christianity.
Their Chieftain Ataulf, in later years Romanised as Adolphus.

OUR opening scene is one of the Coming in of the Barbarians. The fall of Rome was but the supreme tragedy; the ruin, misery and rapine our stage presents must have been enacted once and again, and in well nigh every Roman town and city, great and small, from Scotland to Spain, from England to what is now Roumania. With the Roman arms everywhere withdrawn or borne down, the Roman administrator, the Christian teacher, could each but look forward to die, at best in his appropriate way, stoic or ecstatic; while for matron and maid even these last consolations of philosophy or faith were clouded with terrors. Civilisation thus shattered, its domes fallen, its walls over-thrown, its very foundations broken up, what intelligible view of the world, what possible forecast for the future, remained for the thinker, than the world's near ending? Or for the poetic imagination, the prophetic message, than of Apocalyptic vials, and grim riders sent forth to destroy?

Yet when our wild scene of Vikings in victory and boasting, has passed, their conquering chief returns; he is now sobered by years and responsibilities; and significantly he wears the Roman mantle. He is no longer Ataulf; he has been baptized as Adolphus. And his change is true and deep: his speech has survived the ages:—'When I was young, I thought only of destroying Rome, and blotting out her very name from the earth. But now that I am old, I seek to do justice according to her laws.'

MEDIEVAL

Mohammedan

Harun receives Ambassadors and Scholars from Europe, India and China.
Omar Khayyam.

Only second in importance to the transformation of the Roman Empire by the Barbarian invasions on the one hand and by Christianity on the other, is the influence of the next great religion, that of Mohammed. For this combined a glow of convictions, a passion of missionary endeavour comparable to those of the best days of Christianity, with an accepted discipline of daily life such as the Christian laity have never so generally attained. Applying all this to war, it became sacred; and thus it reached an intensity of invasion and a success in conquest far surpassing those of the Barbarians in Roman times, and only paralleled by the Crusaders at their best.

In our slipshod modern way we too often confuse the different races and cultures of India: but we are still more prone to think of the Mohammedan world in terms of the Turkish Empire, with its mingled iron and clay: we forget the golden age of Arabian spirituality, the silver period of Moorish culture and art: although, at least with Sir Walter's *Talisman*, we have recovered memory of the floating silk and damascened steel of Saracen chivalry.

Yet every historian brings before us the glories of the Eastern and Western Caliphates and explains how these arose, primarily from geographical conditions like those which had divided the Roman Empire into East and West. Bagdad and Cordova were thus capitals of the highest rank; and each for learning and refinement no less than for power. Of all their many great rulers, the one who has most fully impressed the European imagination is the Eastern Charlemagne, 'the good Harun-al-Rashid,' delight of story-tellers and poets in east or west, and from the Arabian Nights to Tennyson. Here we see him in his Court, receiving Christian ambassadors and scholars sent by Charlemagne from Aachen, and by the Byzantine Emperor, Hebrew physicians and philosophers, Mohammedan envoys from Cordova and from Teheran, pundits from Indian potentates and mandarins from the Celestial Empire. Our Edinburgh Mohammedan students, Turkish, Egyptian and Indian, to whom we owe the conception as well as the execution of this scene, have thus fitly expressed their historic glories, and the width of their world-perspective.

Sole star of all that place and time,
I saw him in his golden prime,
The Good Haroun-al-Rashid !

To this scene moreover they add its contrast, at once artistic and philosophic, in the tragic solitude of Omar Khayyam; with his utter pessimism, his disillusionment with power and with philosophy alike:

Think, in this batter'd Caravanserai
Whose Doorways are alternate Night and Day,
How Sultan after Sultan with his Pomp
Abode his Hour or two, and went his way.

Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great Argument
About it and about: but evermore
Came out by the same Door as in I went.

Vanity of Vanities: All is Vanity. 'There's nothing new, there's nothing true: and it doesn't matter.' Everywhere in East or West, in past or present, the student's Faustus-quest thus meets with Mephistopheles. Happily his story need not end there; a third scene is needed to balance the two preceding, with their thesis and antithesis; but this we leave to our Mohammedan actors and their poet some day to supply in their own way. Indeed with one school of interpreters they tell us that Omar himself did this, and with no ordinary wine.

At this moment of Persian collapse and Turkish tragedy, it is time to tell our Mohammedan friends those tales of the renascence of peoples after disaster and ruin, which their own history has not before had so much reason to teach.

Alfred the Great

King Alfred in peace after his wars; in study and authorship. He receives embassies and explorers; and teaches his own children.

Alfred, King of the West Saxons, himself but a few removes from the barbarian conquerors of our opening scene, lives in European history as a high and conspicuous type of their continued progress, as not only defenders but renewers of the civilisation they had come to destroy. Of England he is the veritable Charlemagne, and even more. He is a true Arthur in defence and in defeat; and, redeeming the kingdom after all was lost, he is the returning Arthur of victory, and of peace. His re-won kingdom he knew not only to organise and to defend, but to civilise and educate; till from it radiated influences into neighbouring ones as well, which began the absorption even of his foemen, the English Danes and Norsemen. It is above all due to Alfred that England has since been so much a land of peace: for though from this peacefully uniting group of strictly English kingdoms, there became so long and bitterly alienated Ireland, Scotland, even Wales, this did not begin until far later times; and through the reversal of Alfred's temper and policy of peaceful penetration, by its very converse, the Norman theory and practice with its hasty imperialism of the sword. This contrast has moreover no small reaction upon learning and education. Its comprehension is ever needed, whether to explain or to escape from that mingled obscurantism and fatalism of each type of mentality

and of instruction which has arisen in history from the ideals of conquest, of imperial expansion, and material greatness, from old Janissary schools to too many of our own.

Monastic Orders

Though so much has been said of the initiatives and achievements of Celtic monasticism, it must none the less be recognised that it was far surpassed, and justly outlived by the Order of St. Benedict; which indeed inherited its foundations, as at Iona and Dunfermline, and in Germany also. As the Columbans replaced the Druids, changing their orientation from west to east, so Benedict's first monastery fitly replaced the outworn shrine of Apollo upon Mount Cassino, which became henceforth a far greater Iona: in fact the most exemplary and influential centre of the whole monastic world.

This was thanks to its 'Rule.' This to a life purified by the three-fold monastic vows, and by their associated regularity of discipline and devotion, added an intensity of higher studies, which by its products since as well as before the Reformation, has made 'travail de Benedictin' the proverbial expression for the very acme of thoroughness and conscientiousness, even in the least clerical of academical circles to this day.

What is the explanation of this rare efficiency? Why the still enduring pre-eminence of this great Order? No other institution of the western world has gone on so long, produced in many different centuries and countries such a large proportion of eminent character, or so continuously maintained a

high standard of studies and of teaching. Though their numbers are now comparatively small, their resources limited, and their contacts with outer life and thought necessarily in various ways restrained, this standard has not been lost : and the writer, as through life a wandering student through universities and colleges of many types and lands, and certainly far from prejudiced by antecedents, studies or other interests in favour of either monasteries or their teaching, must yet from personal knowledge and in common fairness confess that for plain living and high thinking (and this by no means exclusively upon traditional lines), every university, college or school he has yet known might learn much from the nearest house of Benedictines.

In such rare survival there must plainly lie some corresponding fitness. Other orders and denominations have been pious and devoted. Other orgainisations, and these lay as well as monastic, and reformed as well as Catholic, have been studious, learned, thoughtful, eminent in teaching ; while the black monks have obviously had their faults and their misfortunes, and with both their ups and downs. What then has been the Benedictine secret ? Has not their unique endurance lain in that wise element of their rule which trained them to productive labour ? The most effective of land-reclaimers, farmers, gardeners in the early middle ages, they developed as masterbuilders in later flowering times, witness our little 'Gothic Parthenon' of Melrose. Is it wonder then that they also became active students, efficient and inspiring teachers also ?

This cloistered culture, which to so many of us may seem remote from our modern life, and at best so abstract in its spirituality, has struck its roots in nature and labour, and these both deep and long. Our modern universities, with their colleges of agriculture, their schools of architecture and fine arts, their faculties of science, are recovering this twofold secret. With these our faculties of arts and divinity and music, our training colleges and the rest may claim to be representing other elements of the old monastic rule; and each and all in the modern specialised way, may here rival or there surpass its historic achievements. But whoever is now looking forward, beyond the modern tangle of specialisms and specialists to their needed harmony in thought, their needed union in associated life, in individual culture, and in surrounding usefulness, will have done with those hackneyed gibes at monastic failings and shortcomings, which, whether exaggerated or well-founded, have too long been withering both the Protestant and the anti-clerical soul, and will apply his mind towards renewing something of the monastic achievement upon his own segment of the modern spiral.

Hence this exordium. Whoever recalls the occasion of the present celebration of what are still but mere beginnings of an associated life and also of a little tower of synthetic studies, in a city and university each chilled by centuries of excessive individualism, and amid whole encyclopædias of specialism left to alphabetical order alone, will recognise that this is a time for our appreciating these high exemplars of the past.

Of the Benedictine nuns who follow, and whose convents since their foundress, Benedict's sister, St Scholastica, have been often more numerous than his monasteries, enough here to point out how the medieval culture at its best was fully open to women, and with no little results.

Knightly Orders

Templars and Hospitallers.

The Templars, from our present standpoint, are here commemorated neither for the valiant crusading which was their glory, still less for the riches and the pride which provoked their undoing; but rather for its pretext, their venturesomeness into fields of thought, and modes of expression, outside the established traditions of Europe.

With the Hospitallers we are on simple ground; for, by the foundations their name commemorates, they prepared the way for what are at once the most fruitful and the most academic of modern philanthropies. They led the way in hygiene also; some historians have credited to their efforts the main reduction of leprosy in Europe. Their record in every way, in the long annals of chivalry, has been the most heroic, and thus deservedly by far most enduring. Our scene of the dubbing of a knight is thus of a Hospitaller for choice. Theirs was a contact, still too rare, save indeed in the noble profession which has entered into their labours, of the union of thought and action, of the studious life with the strenuous, of public health and international policy.

Secular Life: The Beginnings of Universities

The Great Fair.

Strife of Barber-Surgeon and Herbalist—Origin of Medical Schools.

Mohammedan Merchants bring in MS. of Aristotle to Michael Scot. Their Discussion (clerical and lay) arouses Medieval University.

Nowhere are the roots of culture in folk-culture, and the origins of its higher institutions in popular ones, more manifest than in the Origin of Medieval Universities; for these, despite their great debts to the cloister, were essentially lay institutions, arising in the life of cities. The word 'universitas' of old implied a gild of any kind, of bakers or butchers or any other craft, as well as of what we now call a profession, like medicine and law.

Instead then of laying so much stress as historians have often done on the legal gild of Bologna, or the medical one of Salerno, we start here amid the manifold activity and fun of the medieval fair—say characteristically that of Montpelier; which since Roman times had been the meeting-place of the roads from Italy and Spain to Paris. Through the motley crowd of market-women and customers, pedlars, beggars and childern, pass the ecclesiastical and knightly personages above referred to. Then arises a dispute between the barber-surgeon and the leech; but this not merely for precedence, as recently in Edinburgh, but over treatment also. Another leech or drug-vendor looks on attentively, and takes notes. We may take him as that wandering Scot, Bernard Gordon—'Gordonius the divine with his wondrous Lily of Medicine;' for both

man and book are still remembered at Montpelier as among the earliest glories of its ancient and famous school, which was in these early days the very metropolis of medicine, and with these of pharmacy and botany. Inspired by this historic heritage, it has renewed this pre-eminence once and again, until our own times, in which it has again high efficiency, and in all three together.

Central to the story of University Origins, however, is that of the main Faculty of Arts; and towards these essential beginnings two famous incidents are selected.

First, Abelard, the great teacher and speculative thinker of the eleventh century, passes with his pupil Heloise; though into their tragic love-story, which has left so deep a record in literature and even in popular memory, we need not enter here.

The fair is now at Paris, and a century and more later! Moorish merchants arrive, bearing strange manuscripts which none can read, until the arrival of Michael Scot, astrologer to the Emperor Frederick II, whose Arabic studies and Mohammedan sympathies had not a little disquieted his contemporaries. Thus were discovered the works of Aristotle; for these though lost to Europe had been conserved and discussed by Arabian and Jewish commentators of no small acuteness. Thanks largely to Scot's translation of these (dramatically expressed in Mr Duncan's picture in Ramsay Lodge, to which we here refer since no stage could adequately reproduce it) arose a discussion of unprecedented activity. For since

neither the convincing logic of Aristotle nor the authoritative teaching of the Church could be set aside, the task of reconciling them was undertaken by innumerable eager and brilliant minds. Clerics and laymen thus developed into schoolmen and wranglers, at first in the most distinguished senses of these words, and next with their defects also.

The dispute so active for the moment upon our stage is thus no mere bit of 'business' or by-play, but of the very essence and interest of the world-masque of learning. In active and stormy discussion it is that every university movement worth the name arises and progresses: our docile memorising and general 'good order' are far too much mere submission and stupor; symptoms of our decline, even of nearness to death.

The Origins of the University

The Coming of the Friars: Dominicans and Franciscans.

This fruitful thirteenth century is also remembered by the 'coming of the friars'—Dominicans and Franciscans especially. Though at first to the monks but as were our earliest Salvationists to a dignified and cultivated established clergy, they rapidly acquired learning and produced ability and even genius, and thus outshone the old orders, as for that matter why may not the Salvation Army some day also do? From the standpoint of this review of history may we not see that its recently proposed memorial college to its deceased founder may be more rich in possibility than are half a dozen millionaire foundations?

Our Dominican types are therefore Albertus Magnus and his pupil (St.) Thomas Aquinas, whose 'Summa' soon became the authoritative manual of Catholic theology; indeed is again so, and perhaps more than ever. Our Franciscan is his antagonist and critic, Duns Scotus, 'the subtle doctor.' Their discussion upon our stage, with its gathering students (among whom is Dante), is thus an essential expression of the rise of the University of Paris; for this speedily became, as again and again in later history, and now once more in our own day, by far the most populous centre of learning in the world, the most influential also. Of this most initiative and metropolitan of universities and its influence much might be said, both from the general point of view and from the Scottish one. For it is no mere coincidence that the Scottish culture should here count so notably, and thus again with Michael Scot as with Alcuin centuries before, have so large a share in founding the schools of Paris; henceforth world-central in their turn. That no less than seventeen of the Rectors of the University of Paris in these early centuries were Scots is a further significant detail of this co-operation—once the most fertile in history, alike to France and to Scotland, and one of late far too much forgotten. As its students came from far and near, so its teachers wandered, finding welcome and audience in the schools of the towns they settled in. Such 'university extension centres,' as we should now call them, became the natural germ of new permanent universities, as at Orleans, Oxford, and so on; just as again in our time has happened at Dundee, and in various English cities.

Thus, though the legend of the foundation of Oxford university, or, even more circumstantially that of University College by King Alfred, is of course a patriotic fiction, it is not impossible that Alfred may have founded a school in his day, and St. Frideswide in hers; also that Theobald d'Estampes, a rival of Abelard, and traditionally the earliest Oxford teacher, may thus have been attracted to the city. At any rate in the next century the Dominican teaching tended to prevail in Paris, and the Franciscan at Oxford. To them Duns Scotus returned; and a quarrel, obscure in detail, and doubtless of mingled nature—how far scholastic, national, or merely town and gown, we need not now enquire—led to a secession of the 'English nation.' With them came also a large proportion of the Scots, who doubtless tended to side with Scotus, and who had as yet no quarrel with England.

Their fertilising influx continued to Merton first among the colleges, and then to Baliol. Hence while we have rightly commemorated within recent memory, the multi-centenaries of medieval universities of Scotland—St. Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen—it is well to remember also in Scotland that these have behind them an earlier culture-antiquity in the largely or completely Scottish colleges of Paris and Oxford. It is also for Paris and Oxford themselves to acknowledge how these in turn lead back to Celtic culture-traditions; by way of Holy Isle—and Iona, to Magna Scotia, now Ireland. That her incipient renewal is budding with even more promise than her warring paties have yet

seen or shown, is again one of those suggestions which point further than we can here follow.

Colleges and Academic Foundations

Foundation of first Oxford College (Merton).

Devorgilla founds Baliol College.

Bruce founds Scots College, Paris.

St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen Universities are founded by their Bishops.

At first the students were in lodgings, and mainly of the humblest at that. But partly from difficulties with the townsfolk, partly through the need of further economies, as well as of the desire of fellowship, Halls of Residence arose—at first on an even smaller and far humbler scale than our present Edinburgh beginnings, or at best like Riddle's Court; while the lectures and discussions took place in the old building of the Schools, of which a contemporary drawing survives, showing even less accommodation than that of our littte Outlook Tower!

Given energetic leaders however, alike for studies and for residence, the illustrious series of College foundations began. First Walter de Merton, ecclesiastic and scholar, idealist and statesman, established the great college which still perpetuates his name, and of which the surviving simplicity of its old dormitory and library no less rewards a visit than does his magnificent chapel.

The connection of Oxford with Scotland was soon rendered more permanent by the foundation of Baliol College by Devorgilla, who is also remembered by the noble ruin of Sweetheart Abbey, and by

the Old Bridge of Dumfries. But after her ill-fated son, King John Baliol, had been crushed by Edward I, and succeeded by Robert Bruce, the independence of Scotland had to be maintained—and this intellectually and spiritually, as well as by the material forces of the Franco-Scottish Alliance which was thus necessitated. Hence Bruce founded or rather renewed, for the Scots at Paris the famous College des Ecossais. This as rebuilt from its medieval ruin by the Bishop of Moray in the sixteenth century, is preserved in good repair by the French Commission of National Monuments. It well rewards a visit, and not merely on these historic grounds, or for later Jacobite associations; but also because its recovery by the Scottish Universities can and should now be arranged for, and this in ways helpful to each and every interest concerned. Oxford will retain its manifold advantages and charms; but our renewal of contacts with the continent generally, with France and with Paris,—in our day, as of old, the intensest and on the whole, the most educative of Universities and cities remains none the less the paramount desideratum of our Scottish Universities. Nor is this less obvious in recent than in ancient times. Loyal to Glasgow and to Cambridge as he was, Kelvin was wont to tell how he was aroused to his life-work during his wander-year in Paris. In the same way we have heard Lister speak, and with even more obvious indebtedness, of his 'honoured master, Louis Pasteur.' Nor do our Scottish painters forget their debt to Barbizon. Analogous impulses are still available, as every wandering student knows. It is

of hopeful memory that the first beginnings of Collegiate Residence in Paris nearly twenty-four years ago, were actually in relation to our Edinburgh movement. This it should be realised in Scotland that the renewal of this ancient foundation of the Scots College, and in its historic building, has been actually offered to the Scottish Universities by the French Government, and this upon terms not simply reasonable but most generous. The acceptance and utilisation of this offer is in fact the least costly and the most vital improvement at present open to the higher educational and intellectual life of Scotland, and it should no longer be delayed.

While Catholic historians of the Reformation recognise that its violence and its excesses in Scotland were not unconnected with a decay in the Church deeper than in most continental countries, Protestant historians for their part loyally commemorate the statesmanship and culture-services of not a few of the Scottish Episcopate. Bruce's Primaté of St Andrews was doubtless not unconnected with the founding of the College des Ecossais ; and we are on sure historic ground in here commemorating the establishment of the three senior universities—St. Andrews, Aberdeen and Glasgow—by their respective Bishops. Our dramatic licence, in telescoping these events of succeeding ages into a single scene, has its compensation in emphasising the unity of the medieval order, and at it best. The informal representation of these universities, both from their graduates and alumni resident in London, and from actual visitors among their students

is here appropriate and welcome. Such contacts help the weaving of a better social web.

The Apotheosis of Medieval Learning

Even the briefest appreciation of medieval learning must recall its naive yet magnificent, simple yet complete, visualisation by Simone Memmi, Taddeo Gaddi, or another, in the Chapel of Sta. Maria Novella at Florence. Symbolic figures of the Trivium and Quadrivium—Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, and Music, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic—are here enthroned, each in her niche, and with her most illustrious exponent seated at her feet.

Here in fact are 'the Sacred Seven' till lately so familiar in Scottish educational phrase. Before we leave the Middle Ages for the splendid Renaissance which so disdained them, and for the Revolution which has so caricatured them, let us—from the standpoint of a later age which again begins to understand them—recognise that this antique and abandoned synthesis had more in it than is commonly remembered. Suppose a medieval scholar were to return and inspect our existing colleges and schools. Might he not report that our public schools preserve indeed the grammar of the Trivium, but without getting far with logic and the rest? And that our business schools, starting at the opposite end of the seven, have marvellously developed the arithmetic, but with corresponding loss to the rest? At Oxford he would find the Trivium in full operation, and not without continued glories; but would he not ask,—What of the Quadrivium? To Cambridge, with its unprecedented development of mathematics,

he would give full credit for half or even three-fourths of the Quadrivium ; but what again has become of the central figure in our picture of the essentials of a complete education—that of Music ?

The medieval education, with all its faults, had thus virtues lost by the renaissance, and yet more by the encyclopedia. Our incipient education, which seeks to recapitulate and interpret the essentials of all phases of the past, is thus more just to it, and again appreciates its heritage, though less uncritically than did the romantics. The reaction they provoked is thus escaped from ; the service they rendered is retained. Thus our heritage from history becomes winnowed.

When will it be possible to paint such a picture again ? What artist have we who would even dream of attempting it ? And where, the artist may justly ask us in his turn, where is now your churchman, your man of science, or your philosopher, who can inspire us with even the desire to make such an attempt ? When our Edinburgh Tower, our Chelsea school of Civics can do that, but not till then, their long-dreamed synthesis will be at once desired by artists and understanded of the people.

PRECURSORS OF THE RENAISSANCE

Friar Bacon in his prison.

Berthold Schwartz.

THE long and difficult transition from the Middle Ages has been traced by historians on many lines. Yet whenever popular tradition goes beyond its

simplest formula of 'printing aud gunpowder,' it essentially coincides with theirs; for instance in realising the importance of the early and poetic revival of learning, as so notably by Petrarch, and in tracing the medieval beginnings of Renaissance science and even of its world-transforming applications to experimenters like the alchemists, and to speculative types like Roger Bacon. Nor can the wonder fail to strike each new enquirer, be he historian or child, that from these unsuccessful gold-seekers and perpetual-motion-contrivers should come even the chemical industries and the machines of the present, and that the great and ever growing war-game of explosives should have emerged from the study of a peace-loving friar.

Roger Bacon in his prison-cell, occupied with his 'Opus Majus,' and finding his recreation, and this both in the simple and the deeper sense of the word, with his magnifying glass, the unit from which telescope and microscope may have been foreseen by his bold and deductive mind, is naturally the first traditional type here chosen.

From a succeeding generation, yet probably enough helped by direct personal transmission within the Franciscan order from Bacon himself, comes Berthold Schwartz, whose statue as inventor of gunpowder, standing near his old cloister at Freiburg in Breisgau, impresses itself on every visitor of that noble cathedral and university city.

Faustus

Faust as Alchemist: mingled witchcraft and science.

Faust as traditional inventor of Printing.

The long and difficult transition from the Middle Age to the Renaissance might be traced on many lines. Popular tradition and dramatic precedent have alike centred on the striking figure of Faust, and this rightly—first as expressing that vague yet active fermenation of medieval science towards its renaissance and modern state, of which the labours of the alchemists were so characteristic.

Some legends and dramas present Faust as dreamer and self-deceiver, as tempted and misled, as egoist, charlatan, and evil wizard, and send him even to the ultimate tragedy. Yet again we see in him a type of science, struggling through hypothesis and error towards the light of knowledge and its applications in power.

Again he is shown us as the culture-hero who repeats the advance of Cadmus, by that invention of printing which so speedily became central to the new movements of the age, those of Renaissance and Reformation alike.

These varied aspects are therefore suggested in our opening scene. At first he is alchemist and wizard, in quest of both life's secrets, the elixir of life and youth, the secret of love as well. His magic circle, his witch companion, his attendant alchemists, and his vivid experiment make this side of his story plain.

With a fresh inspiration, and its renewed efforts, the invention of printing henceforth becomes associated with his name, as at any rate one or its foremost pioneers; and his craftsmen set out upon the many wanderings and yet more varied influences which so rapidly transformed history, and to this day are accelerating its movement more than ever.

These humble origins are for each age the same: a new touch with nature, and discovery of fresh secrets; a new step of labour, and its transforming skill. These centre round Faustus, and make him a veritable Promethean, inaugurating a new era. Yet here we owe amends to the memory of Gutenberg, a more authentic, though still too shadowy figure—perhaps Faust's pupil.

RENAISSANCE

Lorenzo the Magnificent

Court of Lorenzo.

Lorenzo, with Artists and Scholars; Reception of Greek Fugitive Scholars; printing of classics.

Protest of Medieval Pedant; triumph of press; and of vernaculars, medicine and science.

THE next scene shows this great transition more advanced. Florence, which had been in so many ways the foremost of medieval cities, and which had produced so many of its great types of art and thought, even to the culmination and synthesis of both in Dante, had also been most conspicuously undergoing the economic transition from a medieval

to a renaissance and in fact essentially modern economy. That is to say, she had outgrown her natural agricultural region, and developed as a great city of arts and manufactures, of commerce with its imports and exports, of banking with its vast coordination of industry, and its financial overlordship of them all. All this on many successful levels—not only civic and regional, but intercivic, involving first the many powers and states of Italy within its ramification, thence extending into Eastern and Western lands.

'The borrower is servant to the lender'; thus the purse ever outreaches and controls the sword. Hence in each such city, and more or less in every age, there arises the powerful and many-sided combination of wealth and directive intelligence: and these at times blossom; the wealth into splendour and public magnificence, the powers and discipline of mind into magnanimity, wisdom, statesmanship. Hence Solomon for Israel, Pericles for Athens.

It was this evolution which repeated itself in Florence; and fully begun by Cosmo, called *Pater Patriae*, it culminates in his grandson Lorenzo called the Magnificent.

First then we have the joy of youth and life and love, the splendour and brilliance of a patrician and cultivated society, not yet byzantinised into a formal court. For even Lorenzo, though master of his city, and thus one of the great powers of Italy, was still, like Augustus or Pericles, studious to appear no tyrant or dictator, not even to claim the honours of a prince, though thus all the more fully

utilising his situation as at once the millionaire and the chief magistrate of what was still nominally a republic.

His versatile powers and sympathies made him at home in all the worlds which in duller times and cities fall separate. He combined the conduct of business and of politics with the pursuit of learning and the cultivation of poetry, and penetrated an easy pleasure-loving society with an eager interest in literature and a passion for art.

He thus appropriately enters with Leonardo da Vinci; who shows him the model of a coming masterpiece, and sees La Gioconda for his culminating one.

He is followed by Politian, already the glory of the University of Florence. Recovering a vast range of classic interests, from the thought of Plato to the Pandects of Justinian, his influence upon his own and succeeding centuries is only surpassed by that of Erasmus himself.

Florence had long been in contact with Constantinople and its scholars, even before their dispersal by its fall. The entry of the Greek scholar with his manuscript, its approval by Politian and Lorenzo, and the handing of the MS. to the printers, are typical steps of this great movement.

The protest of the surviving medieval pedant against 'this invention of the enemy, this new and damnable Greek,' as it was later phrased by a reluctant Oxonian against Erasmus, soon dies away. It is succeded by the triumphant and jubilant confidence of the Renaissance, here expressed in a second

and later Faustus—Aureolus Bombastes von Hohenheim, of strangely mingled record under the name of Paracelsus. His baser element, of self-confidence exaggerating into charlatanism and braggadocio, survives in the word 'bombast.' Yet his idealism and inspiration, his high effort and tragedy, have been generously sung by Browning. His mysticism of the plant world became a new folk-lore, long diffused and even now scarcely vanished; but his services to chemistry and medicine are unforgettable. Thus, when as was his wont, he slapped his sword-hilt with the boastful challenge that it contained more medicine than all the schools of learning, his boast was literally true: for in this he was wont to carry the mercury and the opium which have since been such real resources of modern medicine, and which mark his emancipation of medicine from the mummy powders and kindred preparations of the medieval past. As one of the very first academic teachers in the vernacular, he also deserves the grateful remembrance of the student.

Columbus and Isabella

Enough now, for a time, of the Renaissance of learning; a truce to humanists and to books. For the Renaissance was also a new age of cosmogony, and its bright and glowing rise was with the sun himself, to his central position in our cosmos. Yet with this subordination of earth to sun, as henceforward but his planet, there came a new grasp of our globe, an age of explorations never again to be paralleled; and undreamed since the tale of

Odysseus, the search of Pytheas, the voyage of St. Brandan.

Filled indeed with each and all these high examples was Columbus, as befitted his preparation and career as the supreme adventurer of the Renaissance ; and from his long chequer of ups and downs—of hopes deferred yet strivings accomplished, of glories realised yet tarnished, even shattered, yet again renewed—we have here to select, indeed compress, a decisive scene.

For the initiative of such a world-event there needs the corresponding world-setting. In Columbus' childhood had taken place the deepest disaster and disgrace of Christendom—the loss of the second Rome itself, Sultan Mohammed's conquest of Constantinople. Yet now, only a generation later, had come round what seemed to Spain, and even to Western Europe, a compensating victory the accomplishment of the long warfare against the Moors—that longest struggle of history, that wavering alternation of crescentade and crusade through eight centuries, from which to this day every child may hear the Cid Campeador as he rides through a hundred ballads : or see, renewed from the dust and silence of a thousand battlefields forgotten, that great mellay midst which the Bruce's heart was flung.

Here then we are in the culminating moment of the union and victory of all the Spains—that in which Ferdinand, King of Aragon, and his yet more potent consort Isabella the Catholic, Queen of Castile and Leon, received the full and final submission of Granada, and when there was nought

left to its broken-hearted king save to accept his mother's bitter jibe as he set forth to exile, and 'weep as a woman for what he had failed to defend as a man.' Realise what all this meant for Spain, here at her proudest and henceforth securest. After four and twenty fighting generations to produce such conquerors, what wonder that their sons are to be Conquistadores? The worldly victory over the Moor, moreover, is eclipsed by the spiritual one over the Infidel: and since religious conviction and courage have had their reward, piety shall have its further hopes, and soon fanaticism its utmost will. As with the eastward crusades in Peter the Hermit's time, *Deus vult*!

In every way then, it is the moment for highest self-confidence, for utmost national ambitions, super-European and ultra-European—in short for boldest enterprise. Thus it is that Columbus finds his Hour, and the Hour the Man.

Ferdinand and Isabella enter from opposite sides—each with independent royal state and appropriate retinue. These behave to each other as honorable allies, yet scarcely cordial ones—still somewhat distant, if not distrustful, but therefore doubly courteous, as befitted distinct nations of the differing traditions; much, in fact, like England and Scotland at the union of their crowns a century later.

The sovereigns have been at length inclined to hear Columbus. But, that truth be reached and wise decision given, they must constitute the appropriate Court—here necessarily of learning;

yet with due precedence of Church, and presidency of highest councillor of state as well. Enter therefore with due pomp, at once ecclesiastical and princely, the great Cardinal of Spain, Gonzales de Mendoza ; followed by doctors from Salamanca, and cartographers from Seville.

The Court thus constituted, with its judge, its royal jury, and ample array of counsel, at any rate for the traditional side, Columbus is called in. He brings with him his charts, his *Mappa Mundi*, and his Globe—that of Behaim (for our trustworthy facsimiles of which we are indebted to the Royal Geographical Society).

The discussion begins. Columbus, more than ever perfervid, is far from successfully persuasive ; and though readily rebutting every hostile argument, he is in turn rebuffed, as each silenced disputant retires with shrug or sneer. Among the on-lookers passes a servant returning from her marketing. Columbus, with sudden look of sarcasm, seizes an egg from her basket, and defies his interlocutors to stand it on end ; then laughs at their failure, and does the trick himself. But though the courtiers are amused, and even the Cardinal smiles, he finds he has but sent his critics away insulted and angered as well as unconvinced. Realising his mistake, he appeals anew, but his offended opponents will not listen. Ferdinand rises, speaks to Isabella, and then goes to the Cardinal. After brief and hesitating consultation, they bow to Isabella, and go out together ; leaving the woman to settle matters as best she may, as men have so often done, before and since.

Isabella and her ladies have meantime been following the argument closely; for they may well have grasped its essentials all the more clearly for having their woman's wit unhampered by a reasoned training in the dead cosmogony, and by remaining free from that elaborate mis-education in false theory which is so often the doubtful advantage of men of learning. Columbus too as an old friend who already believes in him—the Marquesa de Moya, who pleads for him. Isabella hesitates; rises, and decides. She steps down and comes forward; lays her hand upon the Globe, and pronounces her immortal decision: 'I will assume this expedition for my own crown of Castile. If the funds in my treasury be not enough to equip it, I am ready: I pledge my jewels.'

The Renaissance in Scotland: James IV & Erasmus.

Courtiers, including the poets Dunbar, Henryson, and Gavin Douglas, Provost of St. Giles, Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, etc., are marshalled by the Lyon King of Arms to receive the King and Queen, who enter in procession, followed by the Courtiers and ladies.

Dunbar reads verses of *The Thistle and the Rose.*

Prince Alexander enters with his tutor hitherto; then Erasmus. Erasmus shows him books and they depart for Italy.

Our scene now shifts to Scotland—to the brilliant Court of James IV, the most distinguished of a long line which with all its failures in kingship, has rivalled in culture the Medici themselves, and is certainly without other parallel among the dynasties of Europe.

There is a time for everything; and hence our trumpeters and flaunting standard-bearer are fully in their place for a moment of legitimate pride—albeit this was too long continued, and led to its fall at Flodden.

But as yet all is sunshine. In the waiting group of courtiers are the poets Dunbar and Henryson, the former not only the outstanding type in history between Chaucer and Spencer, but again recognised, and this outside Scotland more than at home, as the rival of Burns in his intensity of imagery and the master of Swinburne in his intricate word-music.

The King with his young Queen Margaret (Tudor) enters with due magnificence under their canopy of state to an audience of ambassadors and courtiers. Dunbar reads to them his 'Thistle and the Rose:' while the printers whom James introduced into Scotland go on working quietly in the distance.

After this expression of the pomp and brilliant luxury of the Renaissance, with its appreciation of the living poet—which latter periods lost in idolatry of dead poets' books—comes a quieter scene, yet a significant one. James's son Alexander was by this time a well-grown youth of no common parts: he was destined by his father for the Church, to become as soon as might be Abbot of Dunfermline, and thereafter Primate of St Andrews, perhaps even Cardinal.

Hence the King has sent letters to his ambassadors and correspondents abroad to seek for a 'man well versed in the new learning' to be

Alexander's tutor, and travel with him to Italy. The answers are said to be still preserved in the Register House; and one of these especially recommends 'one Erasmus of Rotterdam,' who was chosen accordingly.

As a matter of fact Erasmus did not come to Scotland, and the youth was sent abroad under the charge of his old tutor to meet the new one. But this licence may be pardoned here, since the essential fact remains that Erasmus' own education, and through this the world's, were advanced by this journey to Italy.

The youth returned a credit to his master; was duly consecrated Abbot—but the next year followed his father to Flodden. But for this untimely end, Erasmus—ever throughout his long life the very type of the wandering scholar of the middle ages, and to which in personal sentiment he never ceased to belong—might probably enough have come to St. Andrews; and Scottish studies might thus have profited by him, no less perhaps than did those of Oxford and Cambridge.

The Renaissance in England.

More presents Erasmus and Holbein to Henry VIII.

Sir Thomas More is not distinguished in history by any one supreme personal achievement, for even his 'Utopia' is but the best remembered of a whole type in literature, beginning with the 'New Republic,' and still far from ended. His importance and significance, however, increase when we

view him not so much in the gallery of great deeds but in the general movement of history. There we find few men who have so fully lived at once in the past, in their present and in the future. In the past, for as Chancellor he was the repository of tradition and precedent; and as chief Minister of State he acted with vigour in the present. As no oridinarily learned scholar, but a keen and discerning one, his accepted title to fame is that from his fully recognising the importance of Erasmus while in art he no less appreciated the coming leader in Holbein. Throughout his own rising greatness, he unselfishly applied his powers and influence to the encouragement of his friends' labours, and to the appreciation and diffusion of their great initiatives. A devout and historically minded Catholic, he yet shared Erasmus' higher criticism, and saw far beyond; into an age in which spiritual and temporal ideals should come to have a fruition exceeding that of any existing ecclesiastical or civil order; and should realise the reign of justice and religion in brotherly love and social fellowship. In this comprehensive grasp of life and its ideals, does he not recall the greatest of Roman Emperors; and what early martyr ever faced death more calmly, or with a serener faith, keeping even his genial humour to the end. Hence, though subsequent generations have more highly esteemed Erasmus and Holbein for their specific and illustrious contributions to the world, the highest ideals of Renaissance character and education are yet more truly expressed in More.

The next scene—that of meeting of Mary and Knox—avoids their political and religious contrasts, and commemorates what was perhaps their happiest meeting, and the one most creditable to both. To call their business either a grant by Mary, or a rescue by Knox, would savour of the controversial: enough here to note that both parties agreed to the application of funds derived from ecclesiastical foundations to that establishment of the Parish Schools, of which the long services to Scotland are so well known as to need no exposition here.

The serenade of Chatelard may commemorate the poor poet, and also recall his mistress on her own merits here. That is, neither for her beauty nor her misfortunes, nor yet for the European chessboard of politics, of which she was for a time the queen, but as one of the great ladies of the Renaissance; true to the culture-type and poetic tradition of her ancestors, and herself of personal powers, so that her songs are still sung, in France and here.

Edinburgh University

James VI enters with George Buchanan, Arran, the Admirable Crichton, and George Heriot with jewels.

Preceded by the City Halberdiers come the Provost, Bailies and Councillors of Edinburgh, with Lawson (Minister of High Kirk), and Rollock (first Principal) with Scholars.

The Provost presents the Charter. The King requires Buchanan's persuasion, but signs it. The Provost presents the Minister and the Principal. The Scholars applaud and sing *Gaudeamus*, in which the whole audience joins.

The Foundation of Edinburgh University was naturally a conspicuous feature of our Northern version of this Masque; and though omitted upon our London stage, its description has bearing on English and general history.

The young king's tutor, George Buchanan, was reckoned in his day, and indeed long afterwards, no less highly than had been Politian or Erasmus in theirs, in fact as the foremost European scholar of his day. But his scholarship was really of a very different order; and his great and long literary fame has been mainly due to his conspicuousness as the last eminent figure in the long line of Latin poets. It is curious to note too how his own bitter humour, as Celtic satirist, continued and intensified the tradition of More, Erasmus, and Politian, all biting controversialists and ready wits. In fact, till living memory, he was remembered as a very Rabelais in educated circles; in Scotland generally, as the analogue of 'Joe Miller,' reputed father of innumerable jests; and in the Canongate, as 'Geordie Buchanan, the King's fule.'

His main importance has been as an educationalist; above all as our real founder here. And though his royal pupil became far more pedant than poet, his unusually thorough training in classics became the source of many advantages to English Universities during his subsequent long career as King of England. Buchanan's real though indirect share in their Scottish indebtedness, Oxford and even its historians may long have forgotten, but his pupil's learned sympathies are still remembered there. These doubtless contributed not a little to make Oxford the royalist capital of his son's unhappy wars; and thus so notably to strengthen its conservatism since. King James' reaction from his Scottish upbringing was not only a religious one; but on the contrary frankly political in the main. For Buchanan's 'Lex Rex' and 'De Jure Regni apud Scotus' involved the very essence of the English Revolution, as this later of the French.

Return however, and with this conception of Buchanan's intense and reasoned democracy, as well as of his aristocratic humanism, to our immediate scene. A main feature of its historic and permanent interest, and this in various ways both for good and ill, is the granting of the University charter, not to an independent corporation of graduates and students, as in medieval universities, and like Oxford and Cambridge to this day, but to the Corporation and City of Edinburgh. Hence arose the name, long official, 'Our Tounis College,' commemorated by its civic historian, Mr. John Harrison, in an excellent little book. Of the poverty through loss of pious donors and otherwise

which this arrangement involved, and of the frequent crippling of its studies by deplorable methods of election of its teachers, as through other limitations of its municipal governing body, much might no doubt be said. On the other hand much is also to be said of that effective and educational correlation of people and school, of university and city, of which after all we have had much, and of our at least partial escape from that utter separation of Town from Gown which has long been such a main drawback of Oxford. Moreover, as our final scene will seek to show, this co-operation is again more than ever renewing.

Vernacular Literature

Bacon, Shakespeare, and the English Bible.

King James VI and I receives Oxford Dons, Bacon, Shakespeare and Translators of the Bible.

King James is again presented, this time in no public function, but quietly receiving in his home a group of representatives of education and letters. First are ushered in a deputation of Oxford dons, venerable worthies, magnificent in doctorial scarlet. The King, schooled in their learning as he was beyond other rulers of his own or later times through the teachings of Buchanan, receives them not only with mere ordinary condescension and kindness as King, but with the respect of scholar for masters. Next enters Francis Bacon, then the rising man of the Bar, and also attaining his prime as thinker. He is profusely reverential,

even to obsequiousness, to the King's Majesty, yet wise enough to appeal to him on his cultivated side, with an MS. of his *Advancement of Learning*. The monarch, doubly flattered, gives him knighthood. He asks permission to introduce a humble friend; he is but a theatre-manager and a player; still, with merits for his verses which may perhaps deserve a royal glance, or a gracious word from the Queen and her ladies. Shakespeare offers 'Macbeth,' and is lightly noticed. Finally comes a deputation from the Translators of the Bible, then entering upon their work; but these the King, readily impatient, and with long memory of Scottish divinity and disputation, will hardly be troubled with at all. The point of our scene is of course that while here the King expresses the ordinary social estimate and general valuation of his time, so of course shares the general unconsciousness that here was the supreme conjunction in English literature—posterity has precisely reversed this contemporary grading of importance. For the Authorised Version stands by far the supreme achievement of English literature, though, with Shakespeare's a noble second; Bacon's Essays may be at most the third; while of the lucubrations of the erudite continuators of the humanists the very names are forgotten.

The Mermaid Tavern

After so many scenes of the patronage of culture by the princes of the Renaissance, we may be pardoned for a presentation of the great Elizabethans

without Elizabeth; the more since every Pageant of recent years has done her ample justice.

After all, this patronage of letters, in which the rulers of the Renaissance were wont to recall that of Virgil by Augustus, and which reached its culmination in the great days of Louis XIV—while not of course without genuineness, to which we have done ungrudging justice—was also, and to far too great an extent, the princely form of advertising. It was the investment of a little gold in a large return of gratitude, not to say flattery; and this expected and rendered twice over, in one gold-beaten infinitude of personal homage, and a further gilding of public praise. In short, the unparalled majesty of the Renaissance sovereigns, their plenitude of autocracy, their divinity of right, and with these the grandeur of its nobles, also owed their thorough diffusion and general acceptance not a little to the examples of devotion and the precepts of submission which were so readily obtained by the in and outdoor relief of impecunious genius. That the lapse of modern dynasties and great families from their predecessor's patronage of learning, art and literature has thus not been an unmixed disaster, Dr. Johnson's letter to Chesterfield survives to show, as the classic example of our late-won freedom.

The process by which any new culture-movement arises, and ferments towards clearness of expression, is more essential to our Masque than are its later recognition and acceptance by the great. Our Elizabethan scene is therefore laid in the Mermaid Tavern. Ben Jonson is presiding over the punch-

bowl at one end of the long table, and Raleigh at the other. Dekker, Heywood and Chapman sit at Jonson's end, and are balanced by Drayton, Beaumont and Fletcher. Raleigh, at his right hand, may have Gwynn, the old Armada veteran of Watts-Dunton's poem, and on his left a young gallant, Donne, still unknown and insignificant among all these giants, but absorbing their thought and impulse towards his own creative period.

At the middle of the table, Shakespeare. Around him are North, the translator of Amyot's Plutarch; the nameless Editor of Hollinshed's Chronicle, and Florio the translator of Montaigne: three writers who, since not of creative work, are apt to be too little appreciated in literary estimates and histories. Yet have we not here one of the most fortunate combinations in history, of the process by which knowledge may nourish art, and learning subserve life? The 'spacious times of great Elizabeth' were so not only because a new world had been discovered, and a new national life begun. All these were but part of the great European movement of the Renaissance, for which a recovery of the past was linked with an awakening in the present; and both were united in high Utopian outlooks towards the renewal of both past and present in what promissed to be a golden future. And this in every sense; from Raleigh's too literal quest of El Dorado to that of ideal realms by our assembled poets. To all these ardent seekers of life, and of its expression in art, as with Shakespeare, or in career with Raleigh, these three minor types, of secondary yet fruitful learning, had served as a vital and inspiring

professoriate. For the old saying, *tres faciunt collegium*, so often true, was never plainer than here. First, North, with his admirable version of what is the most essential of books for realising our heritage from classical antiquity—and this rendered in vigorous and vivid English prose, itself well-nigh a masterpiece. Then the editor of Hollinshed, that prosaic yet happily omnivorous chronicler of our island stories. Last, Florio, the English mouthpiece of that master of criticism, who still stands central to all the wit and wisdom of France, from earliest days to M. Bergeret's; and in English from his own day to ours, witness Bacon's essays and Stevenson's.

To raise the young bee to the royal perfection of its race, and thus prepare for its vivid hour of love and flight, its later fertility of conception, there needs a long preparatory nourishment, by humbler workers bringing their choicest gatherings. Here then are our three tending bees, bringing of the Heritage of Past and Present, and thus the spiritual givers of this feast of poets. In such service to gifted youth, lies the quintessential value of every University worth the name. On their measure of such success depends the essential glory of Universities and Colleges; while to lose sight of this, amid the details of professions, the taking of honours, the hunting of pots, is their disaster in our own day. Given this vital relation with his instructors, the poet will look back to them as educators and friends; without this, with just resentment as to mere taskmasters. To create such vital and electric currents, and thence their resultant life and

light, is the real problem of education: and not the further formalising of institutions, the piling and loading up of examinations, or the research of endowment, which are its main diseases to-day.

Without irreverence be it said that wherever two or three are gathered together in the name of Pallas, there is the University. From Greek market and porch and plane-shadow, from medieval fair, or here in this jovial public-house, its essentials reappear. The gathering and interaction of complemental minds, differing in age, in environment, in tendency and taste, in aims and mode of expression, yet all the more mutually vivifying and vivid —such intercourse is ever a main condition towards high achievement. Hence our Masque must show it in many forms; at one time solemnised by religion, dignified by philosophy, sobered by learning; again enriched by art, and stirred by youth and love, by mirth and song.

In short then, from Socrates to Emerson, ancient Hellene to modern Yankee, educators are agreed in recognising that 'after all, the best of life is a little rational conversation.' Hence in the long succession of Symposia which we might here commemorate from Plato's time to Darwin's, few have been more vital or more productive, albeit less self-conscious or outwardly important, than the Mermaid Club. Enough that here the converse was high. Says Beaumont:—

> 'What things have we seen
> Done at the Mermaid! heard words that have been
> So nimble and so full of subtle flame!'

What coming dramatist will dare to recreate for us their conversation?—'wit-contests' ranging, as they would, from the maddest sallies that ever poured from punch-ladle to the prophetic puritanism of Dekker's 'Seven Deadly Sinnes of London,' and from lightsome and lyric love-fancies to grave discussions, tragic moods? Who will re-sing their songs, re-tell their stories? But as the hour struck for Shakespeare to rise and go—say for the last time, on his way to retirement at Stratford—Ben Jonson may well have called a final glass, of 'Farewell to Honest Will!' and Will returned thanks in brief and hearty phrase, later to be commemorated upon his tomb, 'O rare Ben Johnson!' Yet one thing we may hear, and well-nigh to the life; how Raleigh would choose and start his most Shakespearean of Madrigals:—

'What is our life? The play of passion.
Our mirth? The music of division.
Our mother's wombs the tiring-houses be
Where we are dressed for life's short comedy.
The earth the stage; Heaven the spectator is
Who sits and views whoso doth act amiss.
The graves which hide us from the scorching sun
Are like drawn curtains when the play is done.
Thus playing, post we to our latest rest,
And then we die in earnest, not in jest.'

RENAISSANCE SCIENCE

The later Renaissance developments and contacts of science, so great in the fertile seventeenth century, are here expressed by three episodes—each characteristic in its way.

Napier's Invention of Logarithms

The scene opens with the ingenious Laird of Merchiston busied with his 'Bones,' that first calculating apparatus, which, long preserved as a family heirloom, has lately passed into the hands of Mr. Quaritch, and thence to the Science Museum.

As too rarely for historic buildings in Edinburgh, Napier's family castle, now surrounded by the modern city, stands undestroyed: and his lofty study has been piously preserved; and is deservedly valued by the school-boys who now in their turn are privileged to occupy it. We see Napier's studious seclusion vigilantly guarded by his playful page, whose legendary pranks as 'Black Cock' both utilised and increased his master's uncanny reputation for wizardry. His prime duty is to discourage visitors; but one of unusual persistence, as well as of manifest distinction, will take no denials, and is reluctantly received. He turns out, however, to be awaited, as a correspondent of Napier's, Henry Briggs, of St. John's College, Cambridge. In the manner of the times, he is not only a mathematician, but physician, naturalist, and all else. He is thus the very disciple whom Napier has as yet lacked, a young man after his own heart, and such as the great initiators and inventors have too commonly failed for lack of. Thus rescued from his isolation, Napier eagerly explains not only his Bones, but 'that wonderful invention of Logarithms,' in which Briggs henceforth finds his fruitful life-work—not merely in teaching and continuing as a faithful disciple, but

in perfecting yet further, as a true colleague and successor.

Here then is one of the great moments of higher education, in the high and real sense too much lost sight of. It is more than the perfecting of what has been called 'the greatest labour-saving invention of humanity.' This individual filiation of teacher and pupil, each at his best, and applied to great problems and worthy tasks, is the very essence of the true University, from Greek to modern times—and the glory of German Universities as yet above all. University institutions and practices of all kinds must ultimately be judged by this highest standard above all others: upon this even their every-day efficiency will be seen in the long run to depend.

Milton and Galileo

Each biographer of Milton has laid strees on the importance of his Italian journey for his development and life-work. The lines of 'Paradise Lost' in which he records what we may fairly take to have been an actual experience of his visit to Galileo—a peep through his telescope (then rightly considered a world's wonder)—may once more be cited here:

> 'The broad circumference
> Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
> Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
> At Ev'ning, from the top of Fesole
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
> Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.'

Such utilisation of the observations of science for the imagery of art is still rare in literature: only Tennyson and Emerson have excelled in it—each in his own way. But there are evidences, in recent French poetry especially, that the poet is only awaiting more living presentments of the sciences to enrich his own achievement, and, it may be, to stimulate their advances by outleaping them. In later years, when on Milton in his turn had fallen the blindness of Homer and Ossian and many another bard, his vivid imagery may well have been aided, and for more lines than these, by the memory of the blind astronomer.

The Founding of the Royal Society

Recent commemorations have recalled the origin and achievements of this eminent body; so that its foremost place, above all other glories of London since the great Elizabethans, may be here affirmed, without evidence or argument.

Enough here to name the leading personages of this initial London gathering. First, Sir Christopher Wren; and as a supreme type of the correlation of thought and action, science with art; for he was seven years the Oxford professor of astronomy before coming to London as its Cathedral architect, its replanner also. This was no mere 'change of profession,' as the foolish call such development; but a fulfilling. It was the correlation of macrocosm with microcosm, universe with man: it united anew the cosmic emotion of the astronomer with the thrill of moral responsibility in philosopher and priest,

and thus fitly reached enduring monument in his well-wrought symbol of the dome of heaven to shelter and uplift the city's life.

Of Boyle, Hooke, Grew, Wilkins, Wallis, Ward, and other members of this 'Philosophic College' (as in Oxford, and until Restoration times, it called itself), our limits prevent more than the mere mention; or even of the first president of the 'Royal Society' from its incorporation in 1662, Sir Robert Moray, save as in Bishop Burnet's History 'the best and worthiest man of that age,' and in memory of whose services the Society's Annual Festival is still held on St. Andrew's Day. Of Charles II a good word should also here be said; and his jest of the salmon is recalled. Newton, though here—for obvious reasons—brought over from Cambridge as the type of student this Philosophic College produced, became a Fellow ten years later.

Yet in commemorating these founders of what has been one of the most fruitful and productive groupings in history, and also in acknowledging this as the greatest of all the gifts of Oxford to London, it may be well to recall the great and grave drawback of this, as a loss and a surrender. For the formation of the great scientific Societies and Academies of Europe, necessary though it was, fruitful though it has been, henceforth isolated men of science from the work and life of the Universities, and of education generally. This separation and loss allowed these to fall into their long period of decline, to stiffen in pedantry, to harden into an obscurantism towards science, which the tardy establishment of chairs and laboratories in all Universities has still

far from completely removed. The arousal during recent years of the Geographical Society to an active interest in geopraphical education may thus be the first symptom of a new wave of educational progress.

CLOSE AND DECLINE OF THE RENAISSANCE

FOR the long Decline of the Renaissance, scenes are needed. First, for its noblest appreciation, Browning's *Grammarian's Funeral* is here simply dramatised, the essential passages of the poem being recited by our Prolocutor as he follows the bier.

For Secondary education, Dr. Whackem, with his birch flourishing above his grammar, violently assaults his group of schoolboys, less fortunate than him of our Prologue.

For its mere dullness and pedantry, Professor Dryasdust. He was by no means confined to the humanities, but might be chosen from any science also. Here, and most plainly perhaps, he is symbolised as a botanist, first with flowers all dessicated, and breaking them up; thereafter teaching from their catalogue only.

Last comes the piteous figure of Miss Prig, with her *Mangnall's Questions*, her 'accomplishments and use of the Globes.' For she expressed the senile survival of those splendid Renaissance ladies, with their cultivated appreciation of all the arts, of languages both classic and modern, and even of the

sciences also. Though she had forgotten it, her celestial globe commemorates the adoption of the new astronomy as in no small measure through the openmindedness of women to ideas, while the terrestrial globe recalls the generosity of the queen who staked her jewels to fit out Columbus.

With her quaint and stiff crocodile of children in early Victorian costume, Miss Prig expresses the limitations of her time. Yet by her ardent and persistent endeavours to profit by the lectures even of Dryasdust, so ungenerously received, she expresses that long struggle of women towards a recovered access to the higher education, which was then beginning; and which is even now far from ended.

Though she is thus here mildly made sport of, it is not for the sake of either pedagogues or professors, of whom too many still remain at what was her level then. Nor is it to afford a mere dark background for her High-School successors; who seem too often to think that their local examinations and ball-games constitute a complete and sufficient advance from Miss Prig's questions and globes. Where that is all 'Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose' might be nearer the truth.

Our presentment of the education of the middle ages ended nobly, with its culture-ideals at their best: that of the Renaissance ends ignobly, with its ideals lapsed, and practice therefore at its worst. Of course this is a partial treatment, but a needed one; since most of us were brought up in the very opposite view.

Before leaving this grotesque triad, with whom our survey of the Renaissance ends, it may be pointed out that it contrasts much more definitely than at first appears, with the scene of Trivium and Quadrivium. For our three figures here are the Trivium: Miss Prig is nothing if not Grammar, Dr. Whackem is all for Rhetoric, and Dryasdust for Logic; for it is these three that shrivelled into 'Education, Primary, Secondary and Higher.' Grammar with its propriety, Rhetoric with its passion, Logic with its good form; yet the first and last absurd and futile, while the second, as the emotional element, became brutal and vicious. This contrast of antique idealism and Renaissance decadence might be followed far further in every city of so-called education. Do the sweeping activities of Education Departments and School Boards, or even the garnishings of pious donors, as yet adequately meet the situation?

ENCYCLOPEDISTS

Upsala

The Return to Nature: Linnaeus.

Paris

Salon of Julie de l'Espinasse—a gathering of notable Encyclopedists. Completion of their work.
Reception of David Hume and Adam Smith.
Pavane.

Edinburgh

Gathering of Edinburgh Notables at Adam Ferguson's. Arrival of Robert Adam (with model of University Building). James Watt (with model of his Engine) and Robert Burns.

Meeting of Burns and Scott.

Birmingham

The Lunarian Society.

Germany

Immanuel Kant on his daily walk.
Goethe and Schiller.
The Brothers Humboldt.
The Brothers Grimm: Philology and Folk-Lore
Froebel and his Kindergarten.
Apotheosis of Beethoven.

Upsala—Linnaeus and the 'System of Nature'

Every movement has its pioneers, its precursors, it may be its martyrs, before it fully arrives. For full arrival is required above all the life-work of some clear and orderly thinker, capable of utilising the constructive efforts of his predecessors and of building these into a definite system of knowledge, from which the labours of ordinary men can thence proceed, and with the regularity and simplicity of

everyday working efficiency. The story of this may be told from Aristotle's Encyclopedia to Diderot's. The corresponding encyclopedic grasp of Nature, and its rightly named '*Systema Naturæ*' make up the main record of Linnaeus. His story in its full significance is a wider one than that of the Masque of Flowers, to which most people might refer him; for in him medieval logic culminates as well as modern natural science begins. Yet those are grievously mistaken who think of him as a mere dry logician; and it is as a true nature-lover, as well as master-thinker, that we contrast him with his predecessors here. The golden gorse bush, behind which Dr. Whackem's children played, and which Dryasdust overlooked, fell over, and contemptuously kicked aside, Linnaeus saw for the first time on his landing on our shores; and the story has often been told of how he fell on his knees in ecstasy. Observation, says Meredith, is the most enduring of all the pleasures: and the white light of science expresses not only a more sustained but at its highest a yet intenser glow and concentration of human life and power than even the rosy and golden hues in which painter, poet and lover illuminate the world; since including this as well, and applying it to the fuller ignition of the intellectual powers.

It was in this twofold spirit that Linnaeus initiated that vast and manifold modern survey of the world of life to which Darwin's great contribution is but the best known among many. For those whose interests lie outside natural science altogether, it may be interesting to recall that the 'Card-Index'

adopted for libraries within recent years, and now increasingly for businesses of all kinds also, is but an adaptation of the orderly herbarium of Linnaeus; which is thus being found in practice, and perhaps no less in its turn than Napier's logarithms, to be one of the most labour-saving and power-increasing inventions of the world. Such high practical results constantly arise from minds of theoretic grasp, as so notably in the life-work of Lord Kelvin. It is thus no accident that a long succession of systematic and social thinkers, of whom at least Rousseau, Jeremy Bentham, and John Stuart Mill are generally familiar, were each and all botanists, and Linneans. Rousseau, for example, was the leading populariser of the Linnaean botany of his day.

The Paris Salon

Each new social, intellectual or educational progress needs more than tradition and continuity. Its best good fortune may be its difficulties, involving a corresponding effort or even rebound. The artificialisms and restraints which culminated in the age of Louis XIV hence evoked the correspondingly thoroughgoing protest. The critical and constructive movement of the Encyclopædists who preceded the Revolution, is thus the germinal point from which has arisen most of our educational and intellectual world to-day as well as that of our economics and politics, except of course in so far as all these survive from earlier times.

Our illustrative scene is therefore chosen at that great moment of history which was the com-

pletion of the *Grande Encyclopédie*. The Scene is laid in the salon of Julie de l'Espinasse, the Aspasia of a new group of philosophers, truly Athenian. For, though not attaining to the stature of the three mighty men of Hellas, they had Voltaire for questioner, Rousseau for idealist, and Diderot for a new and comprehensive realism. Every great movement, Hindu mythology tells us, involves first the destroyer of the outworn past, next the breath of a new creation, then the power of conservation also—the work of Siva, of Brahma, and of Vishnu. And of their three-fold spirit, applied to past, to present, and future, what three moderns have had a more decisive share?

In each such social medium, of vivid thought and brilliant intercourse in their fruitful interaction, the spirit of Athens returns; and the Muses become again a living presence. The introduction of the dance is thus no mere artificial brightening of the scene, but a true expression of it, as in each previous scene where this primal muse has aided. For the arrival of two of our greatest fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens, David Hume and Adam Smith, this dance is peculiarly fitting: since for lack of Musement both their works have suffered; and in this our Scottish life, society and education are still too much lacking. Our previous insistance on the importance of Paris, far beyond Oxford or London, for the education of the Scot, is surely here vividly confirmed, and in greater matters as well as lighter ones. For few international contacts have been more effective and productive in any country than this new meeting of

France and Scotland. Hume's philosophic influence was thus fully brought to bear on France ; while the nascent economics of the Physiocratic School was thus brought home to Scotland, there to be transformed anew into the *Wealth of Nations*.

The Edinburgh Salon

In this Encyclopedic and Philosophic age Scotland is once more in Europe, as of old, one of the Great Powers, of Culture. The names commemorated in this scene of Edinburgh notables towards the close of the eighteenth century are but the most salient of an era of brilliance which was intellectually only second to that of Paris itself; and, as we shall see, first in the world in matters material and practical. The contact with elementals is again here plain enough ; the economists with industry, the chemists with nature, the physicians with life and pain. Burns here in Edinburgh with his poems, and beside him William Adam with his model of the University building—the greatest architect since Wren, to whom our city owes even more than does London, —are more closely connected than we commonly realise, largely from loss of that good Germanic word, which may mean either peasant or builder. James Watt, it is worth noting in this connection, was the son and pupil of one of the last of the old wrights, ready for either a house or a ship as opportunity might determine.

Of other individuals of this group much might be said. The social vision, which, applied to the past,

makes the historian, and to the present, the economist, next needs continuity and comparison between the two. Hence, instead of historians and economists, great though these were, we especially signal Ferguson with his *Study of Civil Society*, as contributing not a little to lay the foundations of sociology — a work in which Kames, Monboddo and others were also participating.

But all this illustrious company was, on its own frank confession, outshone by the brilliant passage of Robert Burns. His genius and his strength—for all such contemporaries recognised in him the thinker (albeit undirected), the man of action (albeit unemployed), as potentially even greater than the poet—afford surely a conclusive expression of our ever-recurrent thesis and leit-motif, that of the rise from nature to thought, as from labour into song.

For these reasons not one of all our scenes of academic foundation and culture-achievements is so characteristic of the inwardness, the spiritual essence of the true University—that of the torch and its continuance—as the simple yet happily-fateful incident recorded by Scott, and here presented. It is that of Burns' brief encouragemént of Scott in his boyhood—with but a single arousing glance, a single kindly gesture—yet aiding him not a little towards his succession to the bardic primacy of Scotland, indeed, as Romancer, of the world.

When this high possibility of spiritual communication between maturity and youth becomes realised —as realised it soon will be with the in-coming of psychology, and its transformation of our at present

too mechanical and external education-mills and examination-machines—a new era will have opened. And this with a corresponding increase of productivity—through the arousing and applying, instead of the present wasting and stunting of genius—which will transform our universities and cities, and not least Edinburgh and London. This approaching uplift will rival or surpass even in its economic valuation, let alone its spiritual significance, any or all of our material inventions.

We are here interrupted by a protest, and reminded that we have to be 'practical men' now a days! Blessed word! After this self-gratulation a modern speaker and audience are alike hypnotised, to give forth and to swallow the crudest or thinnest of theories, the basest or the most baseless, even down to the short and easy formula of the Bullish philosophy itself—which at present so peculiarly poisons the very countrymen of Newton and of Darwin, and the no less inexcusably duller Scots who follow it—the vast and amazing theory that there are 'no theories!' It is time then to do full justice to this practical man, and therefore to take him at his very best.

Upon this scene then he sees his two spiritual parents. For whom will any practical man recognise as his fellow, save him who bears the sacred stamp of the unfraternal brotherhood of modern affairs—the Machine—upon his back, his head, his hands; and who has likewise the mystic sign and pass-word, 'The Wealth of—Individuals' stamped upon his brow, and thrilling within his bosom.

To James Watt and Adam Smith then our practical men own and boast their succession; and this rightly. This James is their true King, him whom they serve; this third Adam their sole priest, whose doctrine they obey. Since 'all clear ideas are true' (so far), let us make these yet clearer, and to a higher pride. As from Tuscany and Florence there radiated the transformations, practical and intellectual, of the Renaissance, so from this little Mid-Scotland, even more than from Lancashire and Birmingham, its kindred provinces, came the Industrial Revolution, with its yet more sweeping world-transformation, both material and theoretic.

First of all from Glasgow, henceforth the veritable world-capital of the modern age; since Birmingham and Bermondsey, Brooklyn and beyond were henceforth its obediently mechanical suburbs. But it was in Edinburgh that its theorisings were perfected, and in such meetings as of this evening.

The model young craftsman, who had made the steam-engine practical by inventing the condenser, did 'so, as practical men are apt to forget, at the express instance of his Glasgow University employer, the professor of natural philosophy, who had vividly aroused him to its possibilities. Very naturally and properly, even necessarily, he next brought his machine over for the admiration and approval of the Edinburgh philosophers, and of these now the more abstract and long-sighted the better; and therefore not even of Adam Smith, but of Dugald Stewart above all.

Efficient practice and lucid theory thus co-adjusted, the modern age was perfected. Its

mechanical industries, its economic theory became henceforth authoritative in all senses of the word—material, mental and moral. In educated parlance, which recognises that men do not live by machines alone, this system of life is called 'Utilitarian,' since thus the doctrine is expressed as determining the life. Those of the primary castes, like labourers and capitalists, with their echoes, whose machine-work determines their doctrine, call it 'Practical.' But these come to the same thing.

In the completeness of this correspondence of action and thought—of the machine so practical, and the thought so utilitarian—great and logical developments were naturally effected, even up to evolution by 'the all-sufficiency of natural selection.' They had forgotten only one thing—but that the one needful to action and thought alike—Life. Therefore it is that their whole machinery is now so conspicuously breaking down; as after all unpractical. For the same reason also the corresponding theory has foundered; proved futilitarian in short, as Lord Rector Carlyle and his students, Ruskin above all, so clearly saw, so passionately proclaimed.

From this union of practice and theory, and while it was potent, three whole generations of practical men have come and gone; and it is now time for the fourth to go. Other practice and other theory are claiming the stage in their turn.

Birmingham

Though London, during the encyclopedic period we are commemorating, was rich in men of science, these were mainly cloistered in their laboratories, like Cavendish; or at most, active in their learned societies, like Sir Joseph Banks for the Linnean. And while there were notable men of letters, and these of course more or less touched by the encyclopedic movement, or even by the coming romantic age, they belonged for the most part to an older period, and had their affinities rather with the culmination of the later Renaissance. Only limits of time compel the omission of a scene centering round Louis XIV, and a corresponding London scene also. For was not Dr. Johnson in his circle our French Academy in himself—with conversation, dictionary and all? And is not Burke a sort of later English Bossuet?

The encyclopedic movement proper had its most effective English group in Birmingham. Hence our gathering of the Lunarian Society, as it was quaintly called from its monthly dinner and meeting, whimsically, yet practically, fixed at full moon. First comes its most accomplished and representative type, Dr. Joseph Priestley, whose varied biography contains a range of intellectual and spiritual adventure, of material vicissitude and disaster, of effort and achievement, interesting far beyond most learned lives. His influence is still around us, and in more ways than we commonly realise. We might trace it from vegetable physiology and chemistry to history, philosophy and

theology ; and thence even back again ; say from the readers's copy of the 'Hibbert Journal' to his tumbler of Priestley's 'mephitic potion,' now-a-days better known as soda-water. For as Bishop Berkeley reached both his philosophy and his hygiene from tar-water (by help of its sheen and taste respectively), so Priestley discoverd many things through his 'Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air.' How ill he fared from his fellow-citizens, narrowly escaping complete martyrdom to science ; how he apostolically fled from the city of persecution to that of peace, well-named Philadelphia, and is there remembered as a friend of Franklin ; yet how his statue now stands in Birmingham, not far from where his effigy was burned in lieu of himself—these are only a few of the scenes his life-story suggests, in itself well-nigh a Masque of Science! Nor are his fellow-Lunarians without their human interest, personal as well as wide. Watt we have seen already ; but here he has his admirable partner Boulton. Without him indeed Watt and his invention might have failed together, as kindred inventors had done before. It is worth remembering that Boulton himself early in his career fell into bankruptcy, as the idealist .ever tends to do ; and that Watt's immortal patent, then his property, was valued for and by the creditors at the sum of one farthing! Surely a dramatic enough reminder of how little the 'practical man,' with all his grip on every farthing in the present, may see into the opening future, even when its secret lies plain before him, as here. Prosperity then to the new University of Birmingham, with its

high Campanile for outlook over its city and province, notable alike as centre and symbol for determined recovery of this high tradition of discoverers and inventors; and also as a fitting form of *Chapelle Expiatoire.*

Of other Lunarians only a word. Here are Murdoch, the inventor of gas-lighting; Wedgwood, the potter; and last, the striking figure of Dr. Erasmus Darwin—physician, botanist and minor poet. Above all a speculative biologist; and here of no minor importance, since already revolving the problems of evolution which his and Wedgwood's then unborn grandson, Charles Darwin, were to make world-interpretative to all forms of life, all views of learning.

German Culture

German learning might of course readily occupy a whole Pageant of its own; and even in selecting scenes to illustrate the encyclopedic and modern age, our limits compel vast and arbitrary omissions to be made. Thus the great Frederick and his companions do nor apear; nor Lessing, Winckelmann and their illustrious comrades of the Aufklarung. We begin with Emanuel Kant, on his daily walk, quietly ruminating a revolution in thought comparable to that of Copernicus.

After this supreme and initiative type of German Philosophy, comes Goethe. He meets Schiller; they renew that vivid discussion of their ideas and plots to which each owed so much; and stand for

a moment, a laurel between their hands, as they now do in their monument at Weimar.

Now come the brothers Humboldt. Alexander, the traveller and geographer, and Wilhelm, the scholar and jurist, stand respectively for the sciences and the humanities, which German studies have since so eminently advanced. They may be taken as the characteristic types of the modern German University movement, and this respectively in its encyclopedic comprehensiveness and inquiry, and in its actual educative organisation. Hence they fittingly sit to day in Berlin in marble effigy on either side of the portal of what has been probably on the whole the most initiative and influential University of the past century. Its many illustrious masters, if our limits allowed, might fitly be headed by Hegel.

Next come the brothers Grimm, with their great grammar, huge dictionary, and many texts—works of stupendous erudition, of the foremost importance in the great science of philology, in which Germany has so long and conspicuously led—and indeed probably surpassed by no other learned labour and thought since Erasmus.

Yet philology, like philosophy, is 'not harsh and crabbed, as dull fools suppose, but musical as is Apollo's lute.' Grimm's famous Law in fact turns upon fineness of ear, detecting the unity of words and languages, hitherto veiled to the eye by the varieties of the letter. Comparative philology is but the ear reuniting languages, which tongue and pen are ever differentiating. But while the eye is pre-eminently the organ of intellect, the ear

is above all that of emotion. Thus detailed scientific observation and inquiry, and still more the intuition, insight and reason needed to reach unity beneath details, are ever directed and concentrated by emotional intensity, broadened by sympathetic imagination. Of this psychology of science, though all manner of instances might be given from Archimedes to Darwin, the brothers Grimm afford the most dramatic of examples. For these two old professors and librarians, in whom the life of erudition culminates, are likewise the founders and masters of folk-lore. In them the extremes of learning and life, of nature and culture, so repeatedly illustrated throughout our Pageant, most fully meet. In all the long history of education, and of its communication between age and youth, none like these two old sages have so fully kept alive in themselves the heart of the little child; and hence none have touched it so fully--and for other lands and tongues as well as their own.

Hence the sudden return of nature-shapes from the primitive scene, of fauns and nymphs from the Greek, of fairies from the Celtic world. These, with the types too of Grimm's distinctively Germanic stories, fitly express what is nothing less than one of the great turning points in the history of education.

This becomes more plain as the next group enters, that of Froebel with his kindergarten of happy children; and preceded by his forerunner, Pestalozzi.

This great educational revival is not confined to childhood; it is beginning for boy and girl in

school, for students at college also. School workshops and museums, excursions and festivals are increasing; so also college laboratories and seminars, Greek plays and the like are all advancing, as part of those great kindergartens of a larger growth which we call School and University, and which lead by so many ways into that largest one, of the World in its activity and life. It is participating in this movement and in seeking to contribute to it that our Halls and Towers, our present Pageant also, have their meaning and reason of existence.

This long Pageant of the Past thus culminates for us as it began, not with learning, but in life. Not with a world grown old, but with childhood and youth, with age in rejuvenation along with them. As evolutionists—humanists, educationalists, and naturalists together—it matters little whether we enter it with Grimm or with Froebel, with Goethe or with Darwin.

Music: Apotheosis of Beethoven

This meeting of maturity and childhood, of past and future, with which the many retrospects of our pageant are fitly closing, needs expression through music rather than words. Hence our last name—not only amid the glories of Germany, but of the whole worlds, heritage—is that of Beethoven. In him a vision of the world, a passion of life, vast as Shakespeare's, a power of evocation like Homer's, find utterance in creations no less glorious than theirs; and in the high perfection of an art which

at the time of their inspiration was still but in its infancy.

History is thus no mere death-mask, impressive symbol of the past though that may be. Its commemoration is no mere wreathing with laurels, right and necessary though that also be. It is the hearing of the voices of the past; and more—the continuance of their music. More still, its variation also, to meet the fresh situations and new themes of the present and the opening time.

Thus once more is returning for us the Greek education of music; and this in its Greek fulness of meaning. Hence, beyond all other coming developments of our universities, what is to-day the smallest of their faculties, that of Music, will increasingly permeate and influence the whole; indeed again preside them, as in our medieval university scene (P. 123).

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

University and City

Procession of the Faculties.
Alma Mater.
Entry of the City.
The Torch of Learning handed on.
The City's Craftsmen, Colleges and Culture-Institutes.
Present and Future.

The University

How shall we represent in our Masque the Learning of the Present? From the university point of view the answer is simple—by the procession of the

Faculties, customary at graduations, and increased for larger festivals; like the recent Quincentenary of St. Andrews, at which the brilliance and variety of academic colours outshone alike the splendour of the soldier and the plumage of the dame. Here then, of course upon our smaller stage and scale, the representatives of the faculties enter, each headed by a symbolic figure bearing an appropriate symbol.

Is this, however, the Present? Yes, so far as that is simply what universities, even more than other prosperous institutions, are apt to think it—the Past continued, or at most differentiated and increased. Where, however, is the other element of the present—the vital one—that of the Future being prepared for, and met?

One symbol happily there is, in the common past of Universities, and of the very flower of all their truest rhetoric: one unifying retrospect, summing the present, expressing the future—Alma Mater, with her many children buried, living, and unborn. To enthrone her then, is the first act of the faculties, the recognition of their unity still little realised among their long-separate gilds, their far-dispersed specialisms.

Who is Alma Mater? A figure from far beyond our academic past; and indefinable, Protean, beyond all her sex. First she is Eve herself, still holding out the apple of knowledge, and offering each of us its fruit. For one faculty she is the Wisdom of Solomon, for another the Wisdom-goddess of the Parthenon, or again the matron Roma,

sending forth her sons. She appeared as the Sacred Wisdom in the Eastern Rome; and for the monastery-Colleges of Columba and Benedict she was the 'Mother-Church' of the West. The discussion of how she might be accorded with her who inspired Aristotle's synoptic vision was the beginning of the medieval University. The Renaissance platonised her for a moment into its vision of perfection; and thence she faded into forgetfulness, from which only at high moments of festival her name is recalled.

Meantime the encylopedist dissects her apple with a more and more mathematical or microscopic minuteness, which it is no wonder the philosopher fails to puzzle together again. The educationalist sweetly promises its fragments to the people, while the pedant and the bureaucrat concientiously substitute its husks. The people perish for lack of knowledge; and most of all, where there is no vision.

The Metropolitan City

The Mother City appropriately enters, with state befitting the historic capital; she is followed by the Chief Magistrate with his Senators, and by representatives of the city's great and increasing Council.

The Torch of Learning

Yet Alma Master is also Sibyl, and with vision; she is Oracle with counsel; hence besides marshalling her elder faculties, she signs to Memory, who

calls up from the long past the representative bearers of the Torch, from Prometheus onwards, through Oriental, Greek, Roman and Celtic periods; and these now come forward in succession, passing it on from hand to hand, until it reaches the Present. To her the City now beckons; and she in turn calls forth new Torchbearers.

Thus enter new colleges and institutes; first those of nature and labour, brought in by Science, physical and organic, with their applications; as of Engineering, civil, mechanical, electric, of Agriculture, Horticulture and Forestry. The encyclopedist and utilitarian days when labour was thought apart from beauty, and thereby kept so, are now ending; and great Colleges of Art have arisen, already of stature and performance not inferior to those of the established faculties, and able and willing to aid them each and all. So their painters and sculptors enter, with designer-craftsmen of many materials and masteries; and, organising them all, the architects—with their historic studies to-day, their city designs for to-morrow. This youngest of the great faculties, though still unincorporated amid its seniors (and as yet with but a student here and there in common), is again, like the university of old, of civic more than of State origin.

Then those who grant civic dignities, and claim due service—the people, in their many crafts and occupations, and followed by new and coming gifts to education; headed once more, as in Greek and in Medieval times, by Music.

Alma Mater and Mater Civitatis, here enthroned side by side as type of influence and of authority, spiritual and temporal, have thus no idle dignities—or mutually exclusive at that, as in those evil days of pedant colleges and philistine towns, which followed the slow dessication of the renaissance and the sudden uprush of the industrial age—but a great re-opening task of co-operation, vast as civilisation itself, and well nigh co-extensive with it. They beckon to a new school-boy and set him in the midst between them. Alma Mater signs to the faculties; and each sends over her graduate-divine, teacher, physician and the rest—to the City. She welcomes them each and all; and sends them among her people: then rises and returns these gifts no less generously, pointing to her colleges of Technology, Fine Arts, and Music, to her crafts and professions, humble and high together.

For the electrician is a new Prometheus; and the smith ever a more skilful Daedalus, sending out youth equipped even for flight. Thus craft and science, town and gown, progress together. For symbol of this union, what plainer than that of our foremost faculty, of medicine and surgery, with its hospitals, or best of all their civic association and development, into public health.

Both Universities and Cities were lately represented, and by their highest, at the funeral celebration of their greatest teacher and citizen, Lord Lister, one honoured in his life by nation and world alike, and henceforth immortal with Hippocrates. Yet what was his great work in its essence, its principle,

its origin? A tanner's boy, brought up in the use of antiseptics, divines their significance, extends their applications: that is Pasteur. A young surgeon, aroused by these, specialises them anew to his own task; thus renewing the old-world surgery of 'the shepherd, with his tar-box by his side.' This direct touch with nature and with labour is after all in principle the same; well nigh as simple as the char-woman's and sweeper's, indeed continuous with it, upon its homely domestic levels and its humblest street-level no less. Thus the scavenger is no longer of pariah caste, untouchable; he is henceforth a working bacteriologist, important and esteemed, a lay brother of the Order of St Pasteur, those modern Knights Hospitallers, with whom we have been mourning, in Abbey or in Cathedral, at the burial rites of their Grand Master.

Thus science aristo-democratises, as well as art. All social service is one! all work illuminated by thought is of the University; and the head of the National Health Service may well be as proud to wear the badge of his brotherhood of the broom as is the general of his victorious sword, his orders of the past or present.

Yet of all the many links between labour and learning, University and City, that of so many scenes of our Masque, the printers' is perhaps strongest of all. To strengthen this is a prime task; for printers, publishers, writers and readers alike. If the University be not simply Carlyle's collection of books, that at least is a veritable power-house of the University. To organise and supplement our scattered library resources into a Library system,

not merely academic, there popular, there corporate, collegiate, and so on, but civic and national also, would be to have this great power-house for the city's industries no less than for the student's activities: acting and reacting daily, and in innumerable ways. Hence the National Libraries), and their surely coming Institutes of Bibliography and Documentation are suggested among our many models and plans.

As a final symbol of the unity of labour and learning, and of civic and cultural progress together, the procession of the learned here closes, as in the Renaissance it began, with printer and press.

Our University Halls of Residence may now also be presented. Our Edinburgh houses, still of modest scale, but increased twenty-fold from the beginnings of a quarter of a century ago, have but to continue at an even much more moderate rate of progress to initiate a residential University City of no inconsiderable collegiate scale within the opening generation, and with the regeneration of no small area of historic Edinburgh, and the improvement of other quarters of the city to boot. The associated Outlook Tower—as a germ and beginning of an Institute of Sociology and School of Civics, which has been growing up these many years also as another side of the same movement—begins to be understood by University and City as a further point of co-operation between them; and this indeed the latest of its many experimental activities, the present Masque, is a new endeavour to strengthen. So many hundreds of citizens and students cannot thus

work and play together, as all concerned have done, and then disperse as they were before: fresh possibilities, projects, even co-operations are already arising, which may bear fruit in their turn.

Similarly for Chelsea—still but a beginning and a handful, yet already with the noblest of collegiate halls. Our University Hall of Residence has no less ambitious aims for its borough, which ever since More's day has been steadily accumulating the rich and varied traditions of literature which mark it out as a natural and leading centre of collegiate residence for London, as it is already for the brotherhood of the fine arts. The present Masque is evidence that the long isolation of student and artist from each other's fields of interest and activity is ending; while its organisation from this small and struggling department of Civics is a beginning of the interaction of gown and town.

Our association of Edinburgh with London in this Masque thus provides a fitting one. For, as in the past, so increasingly in the future, their roles are associated, yet complemental ones; and each has need of the other—the imperial metropolis and the first of her associated secondary capitals.

To recognise institutions and multiply buildings, to add subjects and organise their division of labour, to increase teachers and students accordingly—all this is in this and every other University's progress. But our play seeks to show how this progress is not the whole of progress. What is a great modern city if not a vast and mingled

fermenatation of innumerable active elements, from which a correspondingly complex, yet clear elixir has now to be distilled. Yet how?

Is not this suggested in the scene before us? We have seen theUniversity among its Present Faculties, and also recalling their Heritage of Learning from the Past: with high lessons to City accordingly. The Entry of the Faculties, the Enthronement of Alma Mater, the Procession of the Torch of Learning—this is a veritable Mystery Play, presented by the University for the enlightenment of the citizen. But thereafter appears its complement, correspondingly a veritable Morality Play, presented by the City for the edification of the scholar. For whatever be his superiority over the citizen in actual attainment, whatever his pride of past tradition, does he not need to be reminded, now as of old, that wellnigh each great step in the progress of culture arises with the growth of the City?

Hence the conception of this Masque does not end with its Dramatisation of Education, its linking up of art and learning, and collaboration of specialist and player. It goes further; it seeks to co-ordinate them both, in a two-fold citizenship, that of Life and Learning. And this on every level; from simplest worker and student to philosopher and statesman. For as the worker is set thinking, and the thinker set working, the Republic of Plato, with its high council of philosopharchons, has so far truly begun.

Here too is the clearest expression we can offer of the significance and possibilities of our incipient School of Civics: lately a germ, yesterday an

embryo, to-day a beginning of living activity, to-morrow perhaps a devloped organism, it will be some day a Faculty, and that the most comprehensive of all. That into which the child, in learning to work and read, matriculates, yet which the man, the woman will only leave with life itself. Nay, not even then, since leaving an enriched heritage to their successors, an enduring or widening influence accordingly.

'L'Université de Paris' has a two-fold meaning. Not simply that of its legal corporation, with the Sorbonne and other Faculty buildings and departments. It is beginning also to be a general name for the whole culture-resources of Paris. Used in the sense it includes the Institute of France and all the learned Societies—the Louvre, Luxembourg, and all other Museums and Galleries—the Bibliothéque Nationale and other libraries –the Opera, the Comédie Française and other great theatres—and much else. From these again arises naturally a third meaning, widest of all—that of the great City itself; despite all blemishes and limitations, World-University and Culture-Metropolis—*Ville-Lumière.*

Similarly to interfuse its own great City, with its modern wealth of resources, its significant traditions and to express, in widening senses, as for Paris, its vast possibilities and resources, is surely the supreme task before a Metropolitan and Civic University. Hence the City's sequel to the University's procession of the Past, her evocation of her Present culture-institutes, and even of Future ones. These begin with the crafts, the fundamental

industries and activities, commonly reckoned humbler, but of which the craft and art of printing here affords, as of old, the natural transition to education and higher studies. Hence follow the representatives of all the arts, and of the great institutions, not yet in the best sense fully academic —as notably the British Museum—yet with their staffs of virtual research-fellows, and of what should be a recognised professoriate. Other institutes of scarce less learned rank, of no less popular educative service also, are the Galleries and Museums of Art, the Gardens of the Natural Sciences.

Our Masque thus closes with renewed beginnings; still, as in earlier times, expressing the interaction of the simple world of life and labour, with the high intricacies of research, the infinitude of thought. And all these set forth, as united in no mere abstract sense, but in the collective and individual life of a Culture-City.

Even beyond these institutions, we must ever recognise the pioneering of individuals. Hence one of the latest figures of all, most prominent for the future, is the aviator. To-day, mainly absorbed by the technique of his machine, tying his winged sandals on, he is still boy-god. In the varied ecstasies of soaring, speed, and vision, and brightening of the fires of life through danger, he yet brings us new messages and commands towards advances of innumerable kinds; from a larger vision of nature and all her sciences; of society in all its aspects. Moreover, despite his still threatening aspect, he is above all a messenger of Peace.

Peace not as mere security, for money-counting and fatness; that way degeneration lies. Constructive Peace: Peacè for the University Militant; and for the Holy War.

Thus although University and City came in separately upon our stage, they go out together; and with our whilom schoolboy, now a student-citizen, as in later life he will be a citizen-student, as torch-bearer, leading the way; with a child also, perpetual symbol of the Future. Citizens and faculties similarly merge; yet thus, instead of losing their individuality, they are creating the latest and greatest of faculties, that of Citizenship. From this fresh culture-developments must needs arise; and so on in ascending spiral—City and University ever renewing their own life and vigour as they enrich and widen, deepen and brighten that of youth. Thus between group and individual, dream and deed, goes on the unending Pageant of Life and Learning.

Vivendo discimus.

LA CITÉ

L'or serait tout, s'il était maître des idées,

Mais lentement, mais jour à jour,
Avec terreur, avec amour,
La ville
Les a, grande de fièvre ou de force tranquille,
Elucidées.

Ce fut d'abord
Le sort
De ses rêveurs et de ses sages
D'en prévoir les contours
Puis d'en fixer la ligne et d'en dorer l'image
Quand la foule à son tour
S'en empara
Pour les tenir, devant elle, dressées,
Elle y glissa son sang bien plus que sa pensée,
Mais son ardeur les robura.
De joie immense et angoissée.

O le travail des ans! O le travail des heures!
Ce qui ne fut d'abord que songe et que rumeur
Dans telle âme profonde
Devint bientôt le bruit et la clameur
Du monde.

EMILE VERHAEREN
Les Rhythmes Souverains

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MASQUE TO THE STUDENT

EACH great uplift of humanity, each emergence of a new order of things, of a fresh culture—in short, each main evolution in history, in East or West alike—has arisen in some fresh orientation to the two poles of life. Not to the material only, not to the spiritual only, but to both together. There is always a step of material progress, a fresh contact with nature and with labour, with other men and their ways. With these there arises a related expression of ideals, in art and in philosophy, it may be even in symbol and in religion. Fire and light thus brighten together.

Each such uplift of a new age thus finds expressions which are characteristic, which seem unique in their individuality. Yet in essence they are deeply akin, even when remote in time or place.

Prometheus with his civilising fire; Zoroaster with its spiritualising interpretation. Hence Chinese and Roman, at opposite ends of the earth, but alike in their grasp of agriculture and communications, have each found their reward in well-being and in justice, in social life and organisation; and in extent of peaceful rule. Hence too the parallel renunciation, the ascetic and disciplinary rule, of monasticisms, Buddhist and Christian.

Such parallelisms of activity and mentality, and with this even of individual career, from land to land, age to age, are often so close and striking as to have been imagined as literal individual rebirths, or more sublimely expressed as divine and redemp-

tive avatars. Each begins with a new touch with nature and humble life, with its obscurity, and poverty, passes through dangers and temptations, wanderings and struggles, towards victory, and this at highest reached only through martyrdom.

But the main historic parallelism in which our Pageant of Learning naturally culminates, is, that with each renewing culture-epoch arises a renewed aspiration towards fuller knowledge and power. Hence it has been since the earliest origins of old; Eve with her apple, Prometheus with his fire. Yesterday new doctrines of energy and evolution. To-day a new vision of life and of mind in evolution together. To-morrow the co-ordination of all these, in civic life and social uplift, in individual vision and achievement also.

As for the initiate and adept, so for the student in his age long novitiate. Each new period has made on him its new demands, asked of him some fresh variant of the sphinx-riddle, which he must face anew. With such new situations, difficulties and problems, fresh disciplines and austerities, renunciations and concentrations, are demanded of him to meet them. At one time the silence of Pythagoras, or the meditations of Plato; again the encyclopedic searchings of Aristole, the tireless observations of Pliny. The way of initiation must ever be difficult and irksome, beset with spiritual dangers; and that of achievement also perilous, steep, and long.

The toils of the modern student—under encyclopedic burdens unprecedentely heavy, and with

alternate goad and barrier of examinations—partly educative and helpful, mainly however hieratic, imperial and bureaucratic, like those which helped to sterilise Egypt and arrest China of old—are thus inevitable and even appropriate to his particular moment in the long and broken ascent of learning; since for him as yet the encyclopedic, imperial and professional burdens have been increasing. Indeed as yet so much faster than any lightening of them, that but few everyday students in any university, too few even of their teachers, as yet realise that relief is approaching, and this on various lines.

Here then the significance of this Masque. In the first place it is a spectacle, a pageant for a festal occasion, to which a group of fellow-students and their friends have ventured to invite their University and City; and have sought to entertain them with a succession of scenes, enough to offer to every one some points of interest. Yet these are no mere phantasmagoria from the vast book of history; but a selection of scenes of culture-interest, and more. They are an attempt to shadow forth the long Mystery-Play of the Ascent of Man, with its inter-action of races and civilisations, of institutions and individuals. Hence these scenes have been not only accompanied by explanations, but these burdened with so many theses. One more then for the student-reader; one which seeks to lighten the preceding ones by unifying them.

With each opening age of progress, and amid the fresh minds who venture to embark upon it, there ever appears not only a new direction and intensity of specialism, but also a new vision and adventure towards synthesis. This too is expressed in Eve with her apple of knowledge; in Prometheus wresting fire from the jealous gods. The Hindus with their vast philosophies and comprehensive symbolisms, Egypt in her monuments and her hieroglyphs, have recorded the same magnitude of quest. From age to age Israel has renewed the searchings after Unity, as do indeed so many of her children to this day. Above all, Hellas in her golden moments, in her foundation of sciences, of philosophies, of arts. Socrates with his questionings, Plato with his archetypes, Aristotle with his descriptions; these and every other philosopher worth the name had breadth and fulness of aims, would fain enter and be at home in the whole universe of observation, reason, discourse. So the Greeks not only discovered all the main thinkable modes of high activity in the Nine Muses; they clearly discerned their unison within the complete, the Apollinian life; above all therefore in the collective life. This expressed its ideal city in the real one, and thus created Athens.

Though the perfect synthesis, as a goal of intellect, be individually unattainable, each new sympathy of its seekers ever creates some new social grouping; and notably among these, the University of each age at its best. Within this each individual energy is fused with others; a

collective genius thus appears. Hence the spirit of Athens or Jerusalem of old; of Florence in one age, Paris in another, of Germany in another. Hence too such 'spirit of Oxford,' 'spirit of Edinburgh,' and the like, as these have had at their best, or may be again creating.

Where then do we stand here in our own time and university; what may be our place and possibility in the transmission of this inextinguishable torch, as it flickers and leaps from hand to hand?

It is not only Moses and Solomon, Plato and Aristotle, who have renewed the struggle for completer knowledge, and for its application as wisdom, but an immeasurable company of faithful minds, in each and every race and age; from eastern sages to western druids, and thence onwards. Since these dim druids, and the brighter age which succeeded them, the fervid thought of Scotland has never wholly slept. It shared in arousing the meditations of the medieval theologians, the ambitions of the Schoolmen, the search of science. Even the wizard dreams of Michael Scot, apart from his academic achievements, were those of Roger Bacon, of Faust and Paracelsus. Active groups like Lorenzo, Leonardo, Pico, and Politian, fruitful examples as they were for whole colleges of humanists, for academies of scholarship and of science, were not without their parallel in the Scotland of the cultivated Stuarts; nor had these groupings many more brilliant names, old or young, than George Buchanan and Admirable Crichton. As the torch was handed onwards

from the Renaissance to the Encyclopedists, our historians and discoverers, surgeons and physicians inventors and explorers, have fully shared and often lit the way amid the manifold specialisations of modern universities. And not in specialisms only. Of our many seekers for synthesis, from even the youngest of Scottish seats of learning, some have taken the high abstract road, from Kant to Hegel; others the historic, from Vico and Cordorcet to Comte; others again the scientific, from Lamarck to Spencer; and in each with leaders not less illustrious: witness Hume and the Scottish philosophers; Scott and Carlyle, giants among the historians; and Darwin for the evolutionary sciences, which are now transforming all the rest. And similarly for London.

Against such wide quests there has been a reaction: and more immediate specialisms have had for a generation their needed turn. But now once more, and here as everywhere, the high quest of philosophy is being renewed: no longer in the old logical and abstract ways, but with a freshened approach and method—that of Life—life individual and social. For this each university and city present an environment of as stimulating a variety, as sharp an antithesis of life and death, as history or geography can show. Witness obviously that struggle of life and death in disease in which is our alternate mastery, aud in which again in these very years advances are being made not unworthy of reckoning with those of the past. Witness and scarce less obviously, the same struggle in each field of social life around us—institutional, educational,

social, industrial, economic, political, religious. Where, then, can we find a university and city better worth living in—that is, thinking in, working in—and why not, next also, thinking for, working for than this national, racial, imperial metropolis of London? or this old, yet ever renewing Edinburgh?

But what good is all this to me? asks the wearied student of to-day—over-burdened with examination tasks as he is, 'fed-up' as he so physiologically expresses it, in his prevalent mood of plaintiveness, unsuccessfully disguised by would-be cynicism. The hope which so many generations of us brought to and even brought away from our universities now too often with him but makes for anchorage, with that, *licentia obliviscendi* which is so common a pass degree, even too frequently the honours one also.

Yet once more, as alert students know, the new tide of progress is flowing. The advances of the sciences of nature and of their applications, which have been the main achievement of the past century, are now being complemented by corresponding advances of psychologic interpretation, and of social idealism. Thus again we return to the life-centred philosophy and morals which are re-appearing: we are no longer at the mere mercy of cosmic forces, nor the mere victors or victims of individual struggles as we were but lately taught: but are becoming conscious, as in each great phase, of high possibilities and powers. If so, may we not become as resolute to exercise them?

Again the student asks, 'How will this affect me? Whatever new views may be coming in, I have to go on with my special bit of work.' Assuredly: to know everything about something is a prime duty. Yet the broadest meaning and message of this pageant of many cultures, is that he may learn best who also learns something about everything, and to whom, as of old, nothing human is foreign. No one surely who has shared in our pageant, whether as spectator or actor, will fear that any of the many studies of the University, ancient or oriental, classic or medieval, renaissance or modern will thereby suffer; but will agree that all might be notably advanced if each of their respective exponents would more fully express the wonder and beauty, the spirit and significance of his subject to the others.

Yet, as Basil Valentine has it in his *Triumphant Chariot of Antimony* (the radium of his particular search), 'the shortness of life maketh it impossible for one man thoroughly to learn antimony, wherein every day something of new is being discovered.' True; truer to-day of course than ever. Yet the complemental saying of Leibnitz, albeit a far more productive worker, and in many special fields, is truer still—'the more a science advances, the more it concentrates into little books.' Each generalisation, each notation, brings a new mastery; as Edinburgh of all places knows, since Napier's invention of logarithms has been reckoned the most potent of all time and labour saving devices, multiplying the student's immature powers beyond those of a hundred astronomers.

But though such mental instruments fully compare with the material victories over time and space and energy which are the common knowledge and pride of our era, all these together are still but the abstract and the concrete fields of a single Muse, Urania, and this but in her cosmic outlook. The other eight Muses may be no less helpful, if we are willing: each opens her more than royal road up the long hill.

In a word then, Art generalises. Art alone supremely generalises; and all generalisation is a form of Art.

Education is thus uniting with Art towards mutual service. The assimilation of the vast heritage of knowledge which observation, research and thought are ever accumulating—and which, without a corresponding reinforcement of our methods must increasingly overpower the student, depress, even repel him—may thus, through the media of the arts, by help of the muses, become again a vivid and a joyous initiation. As already acknowledged, members of each race and nation here represented have taken their part in our Masque; so with members of each faculty, and of many of their departments, as of the city, her burghers as well as teachers and pupils of her colleges and schools. Have not each and all been thus preparing for a fuller and better presentment of their own standpoints and interests than has here been possible? By collective efforts such as these we may increasingly keep pace with the vast growth of knowledge, and again take the generalisation of

'all things to be-our province'; and interest ourselves in histories, literatures, languages, sciences, incomparably beyond the present too depressed ambitions of the student,and all this with health and pleasure increased, with freer, fuller and stronger application to life and use. In the epoch of City Development and of University advance on which the world is entering, and for which routine methods, dispersive studies and bureaucratic controls are no longer adequate, we may thus not lag, but lead.

ENVOY

So far our collective endeavour towards a Masque of Learning ; and an end of this individual exposition—alternately too copious and too condensed—of some of its many meanings. For such favour as the Masque may find in its spectators' eyes, the thanks are due to its many and willing helpers, as performers or as organisers out of sight. For defects and limitations other than of space and time, and for redundance also, its deviser must accept the blame. Complete success is scarcely to be hoped in a first endeavour at once so modest and so ambitious—on one hand to brighten what is but a small, almost a domestic festival, compared with the larger life of University and of City ; yet on the other, boldly to suggest the possibilities which are latent in a fuller presentment and interaction of studies and life, of learning and citizenship. These, during the past years—so few for the larger life around us, but so many for its

individuals--have been the residential aims of these University Halls of Residence, alike in London and in Edinburgh, and the studious and constructive endeavours of the Outlook Tower of the one, the nascent School of Civics of the other. And now at the close of this celebration and its revels, the continuance and the development of each of these beginnings of a collegiate system have to enter upon a new period of difficulties, and of hopes.

Nor monkish order only
Slides down as field to fen :
All things achieved and chosen pass,
As the White Horse fades in the grass,
No work of Christian men.

And though skies alter and empires melt,
This word shall still be true ;
If ye would have the horse of old
Scour ye the horse anew.

One time I followed a dancing star
That seemed to sing and nod,
And ring upon earth all evil's knell :
But now I wot if ye scour not well
Red rust shall grow on God's great bell
And grass in the streets of God.

G. K. CHESTERTON,
The White Horse.

To the Masquers:

AN OPEN LETTER—GREETING!

NOT alone to the tireless Organisers, whose groups here vie with one another in their respective contributions to our enlarging world-pageant; but to all and each of his many fellow-Masquers, for loyal and generous aid, often under difficulties, and inevitably with inconveniences, great or small—the deviser of the Masque returns his hearty thanks. He offers and passes on congratulations also, on the encouraging degree of success and appreciation which has been already obtained. He desires to acknowledge helpful criticisms and suggestions, from performers and organisers, and he will gratefully receive and consider all others which may be offered, whether with reference to the present Masque or its prospective successors. And as we all learn, as we proceed, how far away is perfection, a word or two of suggestion may be permitted him in turn.

A silent or almost wordless performance like ours needs not less acting than a speaking play, but even more: since bearing and walk, look and gesture have here to do the work of voice as well. This holds good not only of the active and leading parts, but also for minor and comparatively passive ones. True dramatic success is dependent upon a high general quality of its company, and not merely upon that of its 'stars.' These qualities, we see and feel, are in way of being obtained, through rehearsals and performances. Their development

yet further will be helped as we gain more and more of that imaginative awakening, that realisation of age and surroundings, of situation and plot, and above all of personal feeling, each as a living participant, which characterise the true actor. In this attitude of individuals, as well as in unison, some of our groups are in advance of others.

Yet the appeal for fuller, tenser and more studied acting rests upon a yet more general ground. Never before has there been a Pageant so ambitious and comprehensive, so manifold and many-sided, and therefore in such peculiar danger of losing its unity and meaning, and failing of its purposes and aims, artistic as well as educative and practical. To meet this great and admitted difficulty, and to make it the opportunity of a correspondingly rare success, requires the realisation, by its groups and actors indeed by its spectators also—not only of the rich and varied interest of the Pageant of Civilisation in detail, but an increasing appreciation and expression of the many movements of which even the manifold interpretations of these Masque Books are but a beginning; and which, beneath all apparent diversities, yet bind it into one.

The multifarious groups and scenes which make up this sequence of Masques, cannot claim full-wrought unity, like the movements of a sonata; history itself is not yet so far advanced. Yet the most obvious of its many features will serve to throw light upon others—that of the Torch of Human Uplift and Advance—the Light of intelligence and practical activity together. Kindled by Prometheus at the opening of our first Masque, it

reappears in the closing scene of the second; and is there passed actually from hand to hand, by representatives of each of our great groups in the Past, and thus—and thus only—to the Present and to the Future. Yet this climax can be no true one, even with the most chosen and practised group of final actors, nor its symbolism worth showing, unless it be actually symbolic and cheering to ourselves—until, as our long lines of marshalled players in turn and group cross the stage, the Torch, glowing though unseen, is felt and touched by every individual hand. Such acting, amateurs though we be, becomes, as in Greece of old, not only play, but rite. We are thus neither the modern Athenians nor the barbarians each city's long history may by turns suggest to ourselves and others; we are so far uniting the best traditions of the one with the vitality and hope of the other, and are starting anew, where Greece began. Hence, though up to our rehearsals of yesterday, too much a chance-medley of pageanters, we are on the way to become a Dramatic College.

Here then is yet another of the many meanings of our Masque; and one still of sight as well as foresight: we are already progressing, beyond a nine days' wonder, towards the Nine Muses' Task.

'ALL THE WORLD'S A STAGE'

How find the actors, for all this?
—Ourselves. True word—"all men and women players!"
The children too most gladly, —a-dance for joy of it.
So fear not to find players. Walk dull modern streets
With open eyes: soon vision comes: you see
Well-nigh all types we need. Primitive men
Survive among us—in majority, some say: at least
Amply for all our earlier past. And when
We look for beauty, 'tis less rare than thought;
Fair women, manly men, are not extinct: concealed
Within our common garments, are all forms divine
We need to show.

Divine?—Ay, surely!
Have you forgotten man was made in God's own image?
—But his face—to-day?—Ay, even his face:—Has God not suffered too?

Byron saw this, sang it nobly; still it comes in common folk,
Even to those who seemed, in dying, crushed beneath their heavy yoke.
Poor old Granny, bent and broken, wrinkled, blind, near senile too,
On her bier transformed sublimely:—Sphinx and Sybil!—both in you!
—Other Granny, plain as any, homely-featured, withered, gray,
Death renewed—to radiant maiden, young as on her bridal day!

'Tis but surface observation, sees folk common, dull, or odd;
Keener sight, and deeper insight, reveal images of God.

These the Greeks saw—wrought divinely all the phases of our life ;
For both sexes—child, girl, maiden, woman, wife ;
Stately matron, noble age too ; each and all took sculptured form :
So too babe, and boy ; youth glowing ; manhood perfect—not then rare :
Manhood too in strifes and labours ; older skill, though lamed and toiled ;
Then, above all, their Eld-father : Age perfected and assoiled !

Thus at once were truly shapen Gods Olympian ; yet Greeks too:
Well, this Past is but our challenge : this again we'll try ; we'll do !

Even in sculpture we are learning : and meanwhile upon our stage,
We have had these glorious beings, of each sex and type, and age.
Still to-day they live among us :—Graces three and Muses nine,
I have staged from one small gathering : needs but eyes, life to divine :
—Needs but simple skill of draping, and a word of spirit-waking,
To evoke life's latent shaping —all dramatic types define.

Ay, and send forth to act nobly ; fit for thousands glad to see :
—We have done it, and can do it, amateurs like you and me.
From our Embró Masques a thousand, from one in London hundreds five :
War scattered us : yet now, as Civic Players, we revive!

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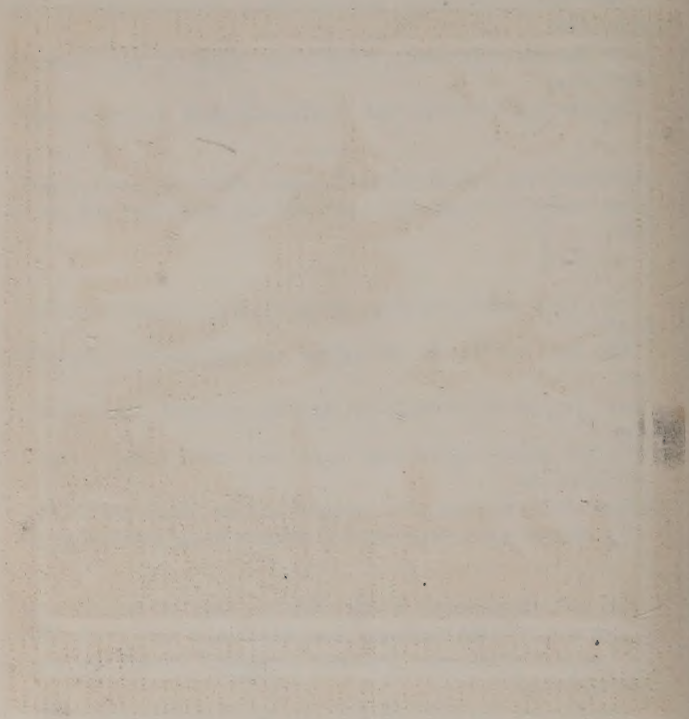
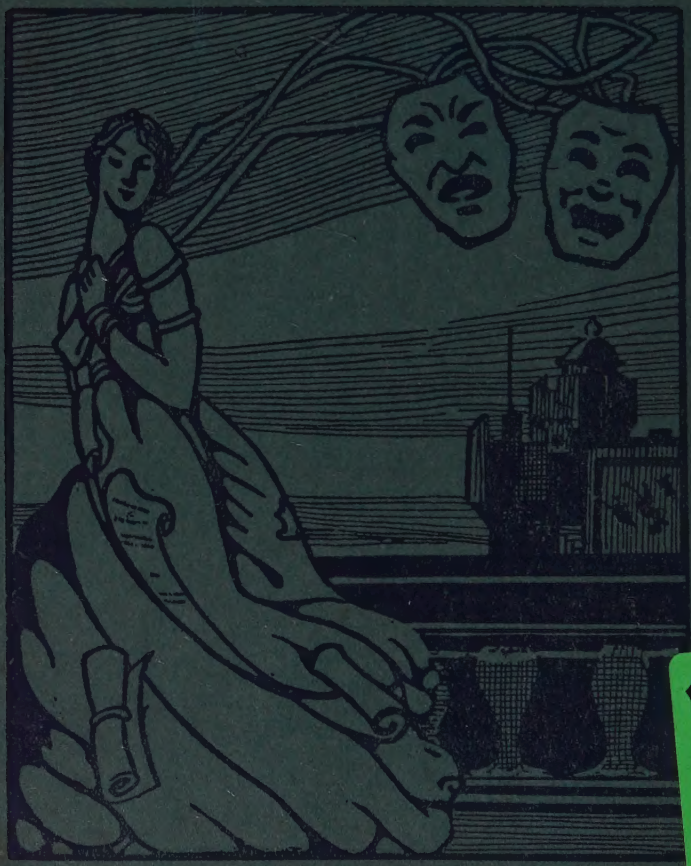


OUTLOOK - TOWER. UNIVERSITY HALL. EDINBURGH



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